Towards 12-year Universal Basic Educational Provision in Thailand: Public and Private Dimensions

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Declaration

I certify that this thesis is all my own work.

Pisitphol Kraipipadh,
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Abstract

This thesis concerns educational policy and management in Thailand, with specific reference to the expansion of the existing 6-year primary education to 12-year basic education. The study starts with an analysis of the past and present Thai education systems, the politics surrounding them and reviews the existing educational machinery set up to deal with the current compulsory six-year primary education. Public and private participation in educational provision is examined.

This study develops a conceptual and practical framework for the design of educational provision. It draws upon and extends the core concept of the Contingency Approach originated by Rondinelli, Middleton, and Verspoor (1987; 1990) and it utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods in doing so. The data are classified and transformed into requirements, capacity, feasibility and implementation phases, taking account of environmental uncertainty which subsequently determines the four possible alternatives available for the implementation of a model for a 12-year basic education provision in the framework of action plans.

The findings reveal that in the current economic crisis the present education reform plan is not appropriate for extending the compulsory six-year primary education to a compulsory twelve-year one. Four possible alternatives are then recommended for further discussion depending on the policy of the government. It is suggested that the most appropriate in the circumstances is the option that involves a transitional period of 9-year compulsory education followed by 12-year compulsory education by 2017. It is hoped that the conceptual and practical framework and the model may be useful for developing countries which wish to expand their basic education provision.

Acknowledgements

I have benefited from the help of many people during the evolution of this research. My intellectual debt to those academics, writers, and all concerned upon whose works and experiences I have drawn will be obvious to any reader familiar with the literature of education in Thailand. I have endeavoured to acknowledge their specific contribution through references at the end of this thesis. I wish to thank my supervisors: Professor Kenneth King and Dr Gari Donn who spent numbers of hours dedicated to my work and its improvement, educators and specialists in the government related agencies, and all concerned for their kindness in offering an untold number of insightful comments and helpful suggestions for improving this research. As always, I value your recommendations and thoughts on this research. I am grateful to all of you and appreciate very much your kind co-operation.

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Abbreviations

APPEAL	Asian-Pacific Programme of Education for All
EIC	Educational Information Centre
GED	General Education Department
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOIA	Ministry of Interior Affairs
NB	National Budget
NEC	National Education Commission
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board
ONEC	Office of National Education Commission
ONBEC	Office of National Basic Education Commission
ONPEC	Office of National Primary Education Commission
OPEC	Office of Private Education Commission
PDPEM	Bureau of Educational Policy Development and Planning for Educational Management
PROAP	Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific
SDPM	Bureau of Educational System Development and Macro Planning
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VED	Vocational Education Department

Preface

The education arena has been of great concern in my life, and my parents' initiative of providing education for Thais has influenced my academic career; consequently I has studied at bachelor, master and doctorate level in the field of education to carry on what they began. Personally, I have been involved in education as my parents have operated a business training centre since 1970, a technical and commercial school between 1980 and 1989, an upper secondary school for adult education between 1981 and 1984 and a kindergarten and primary school from 1990.

I completed teacher trainee programmes as a part of the first degree. They comprised two-week training programme each year in different types of public schools: two primary schools belonging to the Ministry of Interior Affairs and one secondary school belonging to the Ministry of Education, one demonstration school, and one-term of comprehensive training in the last year in an public primary school of the Office of the National Primary Education Office in the Ministry of Education.

Working as a part time training instructor in a business training centre, as an assistance lecturer while doing a master's degree at Chulalongkorn university, and then as a full time teacher in my own private primary school was the first step.

After holding a qualification, defined by the Ministry of Education, to be a principal, all teaching and managerial functions were in my concern. It comprised all activities with which schools are concerned, especially the support of staff, teachers and students. It ranged from direction, training, day-to-day management of educational activities in schools e.g. setting of educational standards and goals, establishing policies, developing academic programmes, monitoring students academic progress; training, motivating, supervising and evaluating teachers and other staff, managing guidance and other student services and record keeping, preparing budgets, handling relations with parents and the community, as well as many other duties.

I has devoted most of his efforts on developing pupils, teaching and learning methods and materials, school and staff management, in order to produce quality pupils. Most of them graduated and later passed secondary entrance examinations to study in famous schools. For three years under my management, from 1992-1994, my school was awarded the honour of the best quality private primary school in Thailand.

Working as an educator and practitioner in many capacities, as assistant lecturer in a university, instructor in a college, teacher and headmaster in a kindergarten and primary school, and in a vocational school, and as an entrepreneur, have shaped my vision towards theoreticians and practitioners.

However, my desire to help Thais' educational development must be weighed against the fact that my schools are only a small arena developing a small amount of quality graduates for the country, which has a huge educational system. I thought it will not help the country as much if I remains working at this micro level. On the contrary, if I could concentrate on the macro level by creating a model for the government to provide basic education for all, this might enhance the possibility of development for all children throughout the country. By following my strong inspiration to improve the equality of educational opportunity for all, I consequently chose to research towards 12-year universal basic educational provision in Thailand: public and private dimensions. The time spent on research at the University of Edinburgh has consumed a significant period of my life. I wish to this thesis to be fruitful for all Thais, so that perhaps, in the future, they may adapt to match other developing countries with similar conditions.

Pisitphol Kraipipadh

Introduction

> The significance of human resource development supported by education and training is manifest. It contributes to medium term institution building, is an essential complement to many investments in physical infrastructure, and is an integral part of any definition of development that sees access to educational services of appropriate quality as a basic human right (Lewin, 1993: 1).

Since the end of the Second World War, education has been seen as the key to economic and social recovery, and the alleviation of poverty and as a significant basis for the development of the welfare of world society. This latter objective was particularly important as a whole in terms of peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1960a; 1961; 1962; WCEFA, 1990a; b). Education, therefore, has become a global issue. In 1948, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly; Resolution 217A (III) of 10 December 1948 declared that "everyone has the right to education" (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948). The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed

> the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect of these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the people of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction. All human being are born free and equal in dignity and rights (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948: 1).

Although the declaration had been adopted for more than five decades since 1948, its progress seemed ineffective, and the education of the world's population was apparently being neglected. Therefore, universal educational equality did not exist.

Indeed the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) pointed out as early as 1960s that

> there were more than 300 million adults in Asia in 1962 unable to read or write. This figure represented almost half the adult illiterate population of the world. In addition, more than 40 per cent of men and 61 per cent of women of 15 years and over, were illiterate (UNESCO, 1966a: 18).

It was projected that if the situation remained unchanged unless major efforts were not initiated the dropouts among primary schoolchildren would rise from 129 million in 1990 to 144 million in 2000 (UNESCO, 1966b; WCEFA, 1990a). Thus, this situation obviously indicated the serious problem of millions of children without education (UNESCO, 1993a; b). The situation appears to be getting worse and to present an unsolved problem for the future (UNESCO, 1993a; b; WCEFA, 1990a; b).

This has been seen in terms of illiteracy. The illiteracy rates during the 1960s were high and unacceptable to the United Nations, especially those in the developing, the newborn and the formerly colonised countries in Africa and Asia (UNESCO, 1960a; 1961; 1962; Craven, 1995; Irvine, 1997). The educational equality and high illiteracy were recognised by the United Nations as unacceptable; the only way these countries could stand on their own feet, it was argued, was to promote education for their citizens.

Significantly, between 1960 and 1980 the UNESCO launched the idea of "Universal Primary Education" or UPE, which concentrated on the equal opportunity of all to have access to primary education. This was seen as essential implication for national development for these less developed and developing countries (UNESCO, 1960a; 1961; 1962). During the two decades between 1960 and 1980 enrolment in primary education in these developing countries increased substantially

> from 21.3 million to 49.8 million in Africa; from 85.0 million to 323.5 million in Asia; from 26.8 million to 64.8 million in Latin America and the Caribbean; and from 20.6 million to 71 million in the Arab States. Around 1960, the proportion of children of 6-11 who went to school was about 30% in Africa, 55% in Asia, 58% in Latin America and 40% in Arab State; by 1980 these proportions had jumped to

> 59%, 70%, 82% and 69% respectively (Berstecher and Carr-Hill, 1990: 1).

Currently in 1990, the scope of Universal Primary Education has been expanded (Craven, 1995). It is known as "Education for All" or EFA which is considered as a prerequisite for an efficient and equitable process of national development. It is seen as essential to the development of individuals' capacity to improve the quality of their lives. It concentrates on "Basic education" which can take the form of either formal or informal schooling covering pre-primary to secondary education depending upon the need and the capacity of each individual country (WCEFA, 1990a; b).

This was the main global issue particularly discussed at the *World Conference on Education for All*, Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990. The conference as a UNESCO tool seeks to ensure that all populations will benefit from the equality and quality of education. The declaration of this conference adopted by many countries is a reflection of their political commitment.

> 155 governments, 33 intergovernmental bodies and 125 non-governmental organisations, institutes and foundations came together at Jomtien. They agreed on a Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs to serve as a guide for countries and organisations in their efforts to put the principles of the declaration into effect (UNESCO, 1993: 5)

Consequently, most developing countries have introduced changes in their educational policies to fulfil basic learning needs for their citizens, coupled with measures for their implementation through comprehensive and wide-ranging plans. "More than 100 developing countries set EFA goal, plans, and strategies" (Irvine, 1997: 9). Most developing countries have been trying to attain the goal of basic education by 2000. For instance, India implemented educational reform in 1986 aiming to increase school facilities at all levels throughout the country (UNESCO, 1988b). "Most governments also experience expanding demand arising from rapid population growth and escalation of popular expectation about education as an avenue to individual prosperity" (Bray and Lillis 1988: 1).

In compliance with the principle of universal primary education, Nepal has put a high priority on universal access to primary education; it has introduced girls' scholarships, provided free textbooks for all pupils, improved teaching programmes and organised adult educational programmes (UNESCO, 1993). Pakistan has introduced a new national education plan aimed at improving basic education enrolment (UNESCO, 1993). Indonesia and the Philippines are attempting to improve the quality of their primary education (UNESCO, 1993a; b).

However, the achievement of the EFA by the year 2000 seems distant. Many countries have found it difficult to finance their educational system due to their high population, resource scarcity and low income of the country. During the 1990s India, as an example, set a "District Primary Education Programme" for improving its schooling in terms of both quantity and quality. It has been striving to achieve universal primary education and to solve the problem of female illiteracy (UNESCO, 1993a; b). However, public spending on primary education has been considered inadequate since an average of 98% of the national budget is spent on teachers' salaries, leaving only 2% for teaching-learning material (Tilak, 1994). This resulted in an inadequate education budgetary allocation so that India had to accept financial assistance from the World Bank for supporting their schooling and it creates long-term debt for people (Tilak, 1996).

Another country in this region has also had problems with its educational provision and financing of education. Bangladesh "has attempted to restructure education at various levels in the 1980s. Unfortunately, most of these efforts failed to bring about the desired results...". (Bangladesh, 1985 in UNESCO, 1988a: 5-6). By the 1990s there were still many problems: low enrolment, high dropout and repetition rates at primary level which led to educational reform in 1988 (UNESCO, 1988a). Bangladesh has been trying to increase gross enrolment rate in primary education from 75.60% in 1991 to 95% by 2000 (UNESCO, 1993a; b)

Sri Lanka, as a case of achievement, has achieved some of its educational goals. In 1995 there was a satisfactory primary level enrolment. From this, the government has introduced a master plan for improving more quantity and quality for schooling (Little, 1996). It should be noted that this improvement was made possible by increasing funding from outside the country. It should be observed that the amount of donations between 1982 and 1995 has risen from US$ 24 to 33.36 million (Little, 1996). It can be argued that without the extra funding, the UPE may not succeed.

Due to education declarations propounded in the international arena and their implementation, world education has been improving overall. However, some member-states of the UN keep postponing compulsory primary education for all to the year 2000 (Craven, 1995) then to the year 2015 (OECD, 1996) when 1980 had earlier been designated (Craven, 1995). Had it not been for the efforts of the UN and its related organisations, compulsory primary education in developing countries would have lagged even further behind.

These are the concerns addressed in this thesis. In light of these international commitments to education and in the context of neglect by some developing countries to education, this thesis is concerned with basic education in Thailand. Thailand, a member of the United Nations, admitted in 1946, has like many other countries, been influenced by international directives and organisations. With the superimposition of its national obligation to the Thai people, the Government has implemented educational reforms and innovations, mainly in order to increase the standard of living of Thais, especially those who live in poverty.

The commitment and conformity of the Thai Government to the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights,* 1948, as well as *the World Conference on Education for All* in 1990, are obviously reflected in the *National Education Scheme, 1992,* which is the current policy directive. Under this scheme, compulsory primary education of six years has served social and economic needs, and has appeared to improve productivity in rural and urban sectors; most primary pupils have been encouraged to continue their studies at lower-secondary level (NEC, 1992).

Currently in 1997, the major issue in Thai education is focused on the expansion of education for all to 12 years. Under the new Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand of 1997 it is now compulsory and free to undergo six years of primary level, and this will be extended to 12 years' basic education for all (Thailand, 1997). It is, therefore, foreseen that the Thai Government may face difficulties in providing a larger portion of its resource allocation for basic education.

Although the Thai Government allocated about 20 % of the national budget to education [based on data from National Education Commission between 1982 and 1991], this large public expenditure seemed insufficient for the increased demand from the entire school age population (NEC, 1995). The financial expenditure on education seems to be insufficient. Increased resources will be needed in the near future when compulsory education is expanded from six to twelve years. Indeed one may doubt whether without private participation the Government will be in a position to provide resources by the year 2001 (NESDB, 1992)..

Solving this problem poses a dilemma and paradox for the Thai Government because the national economy has weakened since mid-1997 (Bank of Thailand, 1998; NESDB 1998). Although for the past twenty years from 1967, the Thai Government has mobilised local resources by introducing many measures to encourage more private sector participation, these have failed to attract private finance. Indeed the existing promotional programmes and the administrative policies operated by the related agencies such as the Ministry of Education, the Office of the National Education Commission, and the Office of the Private Education Commission, seem unattractive to private entrepreneurs. This may mean that the government will encounter a shortage in the national budget for funding 12-year basic education, and will require sustained subsidies from the private sector in the long run.

This topic and this challenge became my interest and they lead to the question of how the National Educational Administration can answer the demand made by a twelve-year basic education programme during this time of change. The financial deficits of education may be alleviated by increased participation by the private sector, but, as

noted above, this is by no means certain. The problems surrounding what level of resource provision is needed, by which sector, to whom and for what reasons forms the subject of this thesis.

The study, therefore, comprises eight chapters:

Chapter 1 will outline the national educational policy discourse, particularly the policy of the Thai Government on educational provision and management of the state under the national education development plans.

Chapter 2 will outline the education system of Thailand. It will discuss the development of the Thai education system in accordance with the political system from the past to the present in order to describe Thai education, the structure of educational levels, the current system of education administration, and the development of private education.

Chapter 3 will review the theoretical literature relating to educational management, in order to show how a Contingency Approach may be modified to aid Thailand's educational planning and resource administration.

Chapter 4 discusses the combined research methodology of this study and the quantitative and qualitative enquiries that form the basis of this research design.

Chapter 5 will examine the role of private participation in relation to the control of state policy in the light of the findings.

Chapter 6 will focus on the analyses and findings based on the revised Contingency Approach model for analysis of the basic educational reform plan: requirements and capacity of a 12-year basic educational provision will be discussed.

Chapter 7 will concentrate on the analyses and findings based on the revised Contingency Approach model for analysis of the basic educational reform plan: Feasibility and Implementation of a 12-year basic educational provision will be discussed.

Chapter 8 will conclude with suggestions about the contribution of this study.

Chapter 1: Policy Background

Education has become a matter of crucial interest for the governments of less developed and developing countries since the end of the Second World War. National economic recovery has been addressed differently among these countries. However, despite differences in political systems, they share a common goal of national development. The role of education in national development is profound. It has been stated that "lack of education is both an indicator and a component of poverty" (ODA, 1994: 1). On the other hand, as Watson has noted, since the poorer countries are dependent upon the rich ones in terms of trade, the populations of lower socio-economic status in these countries will have less chance to improve their standards of living unless they have adequate basic education (Watson, 1984).

For these reasons, the governments in these countries have been increasingly concerned to provide educational programmes for their citizens, mainly to improve national development (APEID 1985a; 1985b; Carnoy, 1992; Lockheed and Verspoor 1991; UNESCO, 1984; 1992). This is expected to lead to a better living standard for their people. However, for many, the progress of these countries seems too slow due to their high numbers of illiterate people, high dropout rates among schoolchildren, and the inequality between males and females in education (Irvine, 1996; 1997).

This may be partly because socio-cultural norms and values in certain countries differentiate between genders. This causes areas of inequality in access to education and hence differentiation of human rights. Finance and educational resources have often been inadequate, leading to inequality of provision, especially in the poor countries and in countries with large populations (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991; Grant, 1994; Mayor, 1994; Tedesco, 1995).

Changes in educational development in developing countries have continued since international organisations, such as the UNESCO became interested in improving educational equality. A mission to prevent future war and eradicate racial discrimination is part of the very purpose of their existence.

This chapter will outline movements in the international arena affecting educational plans and policies in developing countries. This will serve as background material. It will analyse chronologically educational development plans of the Thai Government for the expansion of educational opportunity from the fourth national education development plan in 1977 to the present plan in 1997, which leads into the area of the study.

Education has been seen as an effective way to serve the objective of the United Nations. It is seen as a tool for creating peace among human-beings (Mayor, 1995 in UNESCO database, <URL: http://unesco.uneb.edu/eduprog/brochue/002.html>; Power, 1995 in UNESCO database, <URL:http://unesco.uneb.edu/eduprog/brochue/004.html>; UNESCO database, <URL:http://unesco.uneb.edu/eduprog/ brochue/258.html>). Therefore, education has been included in the series of UN's and UNESCO's declarations and conventions.

Since 1948 a series of significant international conferences have been convened based on the democratic principle of equality in terms of "rights". Their purpose has been to eradicate discrimination among people. "Rights" refers to four aspects of the United Nations' objectives:

> 1) respect for survival, particularly of human life; 2) lessening discrimination; 3) ensuring that social responsibilities are considered as the counterpart of rights; and 4) ensuring the maximum fulfilment of the human capacity (Ray et al, 1994: 1).

A series of conferences and declarations have been significant as a method of implementation for the United Nations. The conferences have influenced educational policies and plans in developing countries and in the member states who have adopted these declarations. The declarations in the international arena place powerful obligations on all member states to conform to them.

Regarding article 26 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), the member states agreed that

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* 1948).

However, educational provision and management in less developed and developing countries have been considered unsatisfactory with regard to world education provision. It has been especially true of the countries of Asia and Africa in which populations are higher than in other continents. Thus, the General Assembly of the United Nations has recently adopted major international conventions dealing wholly or in part with education. There have been seven relevant international conventions and conferences; the dates of adoption are as follows:

1. Convention against Discrimination in Education, 1960;
2. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1966;
3. International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966;
4. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979;
5. Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989;
6. World Summit for Children, 1990;
7. World Conference on Education for All, 1990

All seven major international conventions have set forth the fundamental principles of the member states of the United Nations. (Please see details of the Conventions 1-5 in Appendix I, Convention 6 and 7 in Appendix III attached).

Although these conventions concentrate on different aspects of equality, they focus on the same key principle of human rights. The rights of equality for all, regardless of gender, race, and nationality are particularly mentioned. Principally, the adoption of the convention by the Member States reflects their agreement and conformity. However, in practice, conformity to these principles in some countries has been unsatisfactory. This has been a problem because not many countries can independently bring about higher standards of living for their people, but as much as four fifths of the world population are indeed of, and attempting to bring about this progress (OECD, 1996).

> At the beginning of the 1990s, there is an anxiety about the holding capacity of schools in an educational environment where there are insufficient textbooks, questions about the commitment of teachers, and increasing demands for parental contribution....Some situations are much more critical than others, where, for instance, there has been long term military conflict. But even in the many countries which have had no significant internal strife, there are still severe problems to contend with. The emergent systems for the professional support and inservicing of teachers have become grounded, without the finance for transport, seminars and materials. The arrangements for commissioning, printing, and distributing school texts and teacher guides are said to be becalmed for lack of foreign exchange for curtain crucial components (King and Singh, 1991: 1).

For more practical and effective purpose, the major principles adopted at the international level were delivered regionally mainly through the UNESCO regional offices. Conferences and declarations play a significant role in educational development, especially in the developing countries. At international level, participation programmes and co-operation co-ordinated between UNESCO and the government and relevant organisations in each country have been delivered. Assistance programmes under these participation programmes can be made available in the form of the provision of specialists, organisational meetings, conferences and seminars, depending upon agreements. The variety of the programmes may range from individual country level to sub-regional or international levels (UNESCO database, <URL: http://unesco.uneb. edu/eduprog/brochue/aid/240/html>).

In Asia and the Pacific, UNESCO's Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific (PROAP) was established in Bangkok, Thailand. It has delivered a significant regional programme: APPEAL - Asian-Pacific Programme of Education for All.

> APPEAL aims to facilitate the achievement of Education for All through universalizing primary education, eradicating illiteracy, and providing continuing education. Its primary constituency is the vast number of adult illiterates and out-of school children and young people. National Co-ordination Committee have already been set up by 23 Member States (UNESCO, 1993d: 28).

Furthermore, there are also programmes in other educational areas, such as Regional Co-operative Programme in Higher Education, Educational Policy-making, Planning, Management and Statistics, Technical and Vocational Education. Between 1990 and 1993 UNESCO introduced 215 educational development programmes in 30 countries in Asian and the Pacific region (UNESCO, 1993d).

"Basic education" constitutes the continuity of the UN mission in this region; for this purpose a series of regional conferences of ministers of education has been the primary method of implementation used by UNESCO. These conferences aim to encourage the representatives of the governments of each country and region to adopt the goal of universal primary education, or basic education for all. It is one of the major objectives of UNESCO to assist its member states in formulating educational plans to achieve the goal of "UPE" or "EFA" depending upon the needs of each country (WCEFA, 1990a; 1990b).

Since educational problems in each region are different, the conferences of ministers of education have been convened in different regions under the responsibility of UNESCO regional offices. For dealing with the particular educational problems of each region, separate regional programmes have been delivered in four regions: Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, the Arab States, and the Asian and the Pacific.

The Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific (PROAP) in Bangkok, Thailand. deals with co-operative activities between member states in Asian and the Pacific region. With the aim of solving educational problems at the regional level, since 1960 a series of regional conferences of ministers of education in Asia and the Pacific have been held and convened under the auspices of UNESCO. (Please see details in Appendix II attached):

1. MINEDAS I - 1962 (The First Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asia Member States: The Karachi Plan and the Tokyo Regional Conference);
2. MINEDAS II - 1965 (The Second Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asia Member States: Bangkok Regional Conference) ;
3. MINEDAS III - 1971 (The Third Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asia Member States: The Singapore Regional Conference);
4. MINEDASO IV - 1978 (The Fourth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and Oceania: The Colombo Conference);
5. MINEDAP V - 1985 (The Fifth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific: The Bangkok Regional Conference, 1985);
6. MINEDAP VI – 1993 (The Sixth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific: The Kuala Lumpur Conference).

These regional conferences are designed to serve as a link between the international conventions and the sub-regional level. They support the goal and the target of these international and world conferences. The movement of the above-mentioned international conventions, regional meetings of the ministers of education in Asia and the Pacific, as well as the world conferences and declarations on education, have required half a century of effort on the part of the United Nation and UNESCO, between 1948 and 1998. They have had a significant impact on world society in enhancing the standard of education of member states, especially in the developing countries of Asia and the Pacific.

In Thailand educational provision in formal schooling system has started in the 1900s which is earlier than UPE. It aimed to provide compulsory primary education for all population. [It should be noted that the educational provision before the year 1932 was under the responsible of the Kings and his officials, whereas the post 1932 provision has been under the responsibility of the government of Thailand.] It is, therefore, necessary to discuss Thailand's educational policy in relation to the influence and impact of these conferences. It will be discussed in the next section: The state policy of the Thai Government on the expansion of educational opportunity.

The state policy of the Thai Government on the expansion of educational opportunity

Thailand's educational policy began with the implementation of the first education project of 1899, followed by many subsequent projects in 1902, 1907, 1909, 1913, 1915, and 1921. The entire formulation and implementation of these projects were the responsibility of the highest-ranking officials to the king. It should be noted that these educational projects of education were inconsistent because they were changed accordingly as these officials retired or were shifted to other administrative positions; the new ones normally changed the projects to suit their own requirements (Na-talang, 1988).

Between 1902 and 1921, the term "education project" should be understood as the intentions and plans of high-ranking officials for education (MOE, 1973). Since educational projects were based on these officials' opinions, the projects were changed from time to time. Thus they lacked continuity and their impact on education was slight. The projects were planned directly by the top level of management to suit their needs rather than the needs of society. This was because all projects were formulated by personal judgements and intentions, broad targets were specified and

time frames were unlimited, all decisions being dependent on the opinion of the high-ranking officials concerned. Any project which was considered impractical could be changed or adjusted at any time (Na-talang, 1988). A new project would then be formulated to replace the previous one. Thus it can be argued that the educational projects during this period should be considered as feasibility studies or tryout projects rather than educational acts, and it represented highly centralised administrative governance in the past educational system.

All educational projects, regarding the Ministry of Education projects in 1898; 1902; 1907; 1909; 1913; 1915; 1921, referred to "education" in broad terms; for example, the "education system" was divided into four levels: pre-primary, primary, lower secondary and upper secondary level. The duration of the projects varied depending on the structures of the curriculum at each level (MOE, 1898; 1902; 1907; 1909; 1913; 1915; 1921a). It can be seen that educational projects between 1902 and 1921 lacked coherency and details.

Between 1902 and 1921 education was seen as a key means to improve the capabilities of Thai citizens and to elevate the social and economic conditions of the nation. All were designed for the preparation of civil servants in the service of the King, since this was the demand of the country (Na-talang, 1988).

"Compulsory education" was first mentioned in the national educational project of 1913, where 5 years of primary education were specified as obligatory. This curriculum was unusual for its structure (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). Children could decide whether they wanted to complete either the entire curriculum or only compulsory primary education. The entire curriculum comprised 3 years of primary and 8 years of secondary education. The compulsory education was designed for those who preferred to complete only five years of education. It was composed of a 3-year general primary education and a 2-year vocational primary education. This meant that children who completed this 5-year education were not allowed to pursue their studies further (MOE, 1913).

Primary education was made "compulsory" after the *National Educational Project of 1913*, but it cannot be considered as "universal compulsory education", or "universal primary education" as defined by UNESCO. This is because its "compulsion" covered only some provinces where schooling was adequate. In other provinces without this provision, children were not obliged to attend compulsory education. Thus it can be called partial universal compulsory education. The enrolment in compulsory primary education in 1921 amounted to 45.76% of the total school age population. Universal primary education could not be achieved due to the inadequacies of teachers, schooling and national budgetary allocation for education (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989).

Regarding the "equality of human rights", it can be said that equality for all did not exist. This was because boys and clever children in general were given more privileged access to higher educational level (MOE, 1898). In addition, slaves and children of slaves were not allowed access to education. (Please see more details in Chapter 2, part 1)

The reason behind this inequality was the influence of society on education. The role of the male in a family between 1902 and 1921 was as a leader who took responsibility for most family aspects particularly about agricultural work, while the role of the female was as a follower who took responsibility for housework. Personal security was another reason which obliged females to work inside the household rather than outside; males, on the other hand, could protect themselves. Literacy for females seemed less important during that time. Furthermore the role of males in society was deemed more essential than that of females since all male Thais were obliged by the law to serve in the military. Well-educated males might get better positions as civil servants or higher-ranking soldiers (Panapop, 1991).

In 1932 the Thai Government intended to provide more educational opportunity for all Thais because it saw education as a tool to support an early system of political democracy. But due to their limited resources, the duration of compulsory education contained in the *Compulsory Education Plan of 1932* was reduced from six years to

four years to accommodate the national budget (MOE, 1936). The principal achievement of this scheme was to create gender equality in education; additionally educational provision was forthcoming – regardless of gender, nationality or religious beliefs. (see more details in Chapter 2, part 1). This can be considered in respect of the principle of human rights. During this period, in 1935, there were 10,579 schools (1,235 private and 9,344 public schools). The dual schooling system accommodated 1,313,205 pupils (85,978 private and 1,227,227 public school pupils) (MOE, 1935). However, this educational provision was still inadequate for all since it encompassed less than 50% of the primary school age population.

Since 1960, the impact of international pressure on Thailand's educational policies and plans has been felt. This resulted from the first step that UNESCO took concerning education in Asia and the Pacific. The principle of "equality of human rights" was delivered through education throughout this region. In 1960, UNESCO held a Meeting of Asian Member States in Karachi, also known as the Karachi plan. This meeting suggested that the member states provide universal, compulsory and free primary education (UNESCO, 1960a). This meeting suggested that universal primary education was mainly under the responsibility of the government in each country.

In Thailand the impact of the international conference was obvious, as can be seen by the fact that the Thai Government agreed to the principle of "Universal Primary Education" or UPE. Thus in the same year, 1960, compulsory primary education lasting 7 years was introduced. Principally, this was free for all. (See details in chapter 2). In 1960 there were 25,368 schools (2,587 private and 22,781 public) taking 4,042,060 pupils (680,860 private and 3,358,200 public school pupils) (MOE, 1960). A total of 55.88 million Baht (£1.12 million) was given in subsidy for private school pupils and 1,180.48 million Baht (£23.61 million) for public ones (Tani, 1984). [£1 = 50 Baht.]

However, in 1977 the structure of compulsory primary education comprising 180 learning days in each year was changed. The duration of compulsory education was reduced from 7 to 6 years, while the loss of one year was complemented by increasing the number of learning days from 180 to 200 in each year of primary education, as set out in the national primary education plan of 1977 (MOE, 1977). The principle of equality of rights for all was mentioned in section 2 of the national primary education plan 1977, numbers 10 and 11 stating that the state will provide free compulsory education for all throughout the country, and with regard to the equality of each individual (NEC, 1977a). In 1977 there were 33,938 schools (2,422 private and 31,516 public) which accommodated 8,330,360 pupils (1,134,138 private and 7,196,275 public school pupils) (MOE, 1977). The Thai Government allocated 324 million Baht (£6.48 million) to subsidise private school pupils and 4,826.75 million Baht (£96.54) for public ones (Thani, 1984). [£1 = 50 Baht]

Since the gross enrolment rate (70-79%) in primary school age population (Fredriksen, 1981) was approaching satisfactory levels at least as seen by the state, it created an awareness of the need to upgrade and extend the basic education of the population beyond primary level. However, due to the problems in quality and equality of access to primary and secondary levels, the expansion of primary education had to be delayed. Therefore, the *Fourth National Education Development Plan 1977-1981* stated that the government had to find the ways and means to improve the quantity and quality and raise the standard of secondary education in various provinces which were lagging far behind that of urban areas (NEC, 1977b). The educational provision was consequently addressed by taking into account the geographical, socio-economic and cultural conditions of each locality as far as possible within the existing capacity of the government (NEC, 1977a). At primary level, a quantitative and qualitative study by Chantavanich and others revealed that "in the 1970s 35% of primary schools displayed a problem of disparity of school efficiency" (Chantavanich, A., Chantavanich, S. and Fry, 1990: 86). This meant that equal access to state primary education in some districts and provinces was still a problem and needed to be improved.

At secondary level during this plan (1977-1981), the state expanded educational provision in relation to the educational needs of each location. For instance, state school provision in big cities and rural areas had to be increased by opening new schools in the provinces to meet the higher educational demands of each location (NEC, 1977). The emphasis on the equality of educational opportunity at secondary level resulted in a higher number of students making the transition from grade 6 (the last year of primary level) to grade 7 (lower-secondary level) both in public and private schools in each location. This produced a transition rate of schoolchildren from the primary level to the lower-secondary level of 73.13 per cent in 1981, which was the last year of the plan (NEC, 1977b). The situation of educational disparities between the rural and urban areas was a problem which led to further education plans.

In the *Fifth National Education Development Plan 1982-1986*, the state emphasised the extension of equal educational opportunities at secondary level to the lower socio-economic groups throughout Thailand, especially in rural areas. This was achieved by providing extra budgetary allocation for 250 new public secondary schools; 120 of which were built in rural areas (NEC, 1982). It was argued by Saihoo, Chantavanich and Thongutai (1983) that although more schools had been provided, academic quality in them was lower than the standard set by the Ministry of Education because teachers were recruited with inferior qualifications purely to support the high demand for schooling during this period. (More details on the provision of school facilities and the opportunity for children of the lower socio-economic groupings to take up schooling are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

When the fifth plan, which operated between 1982 and 1986 was implemented, it was under pressure from rapid and continuous global economic change, progress in science and technology, and the rapid development of the country itself. This was mainly manifested in the rapid economic growth of the nation during this period which affected the gross domestic product (GDP), and the ratio of international trade to GDP. With its rapid economic growth, Thailand could be seen to be a newly industrializing country (NIC) (NESDB, 1982; 1987).

These factors created a new environment that was unstable and led to uncertainty regarding social, cultural and economic adjustments. The government, therefore, increasingly realised the significance of basic education as a key to improving the potential of the Thai people for the next century. The aim was to equip them for future situations and to assure a better material and moral, quality of life. It was argued that this would enhance their contribution to social development (NESDB, 1992). To achieve these goals, the aim of the plan was that improved provision in the first stage would increase the transition rate from grade 6 to grade 7 in both public and private schools at 50% or more by the end of the plan (NEC, 1982).

Interestingly the target of the fifth plan set a lower transition rate than that of the fourth plan. The author's documentary research from government related agencies and analysis of statistical data, including the transition rate from the primary to lower secondary level in terms defined by the Ministry of Education, reveals that the government did not possess an accurate figure of pupil numbers. This is explained by the fact that the term "transition" is used in misleading and confusing ways by the government related agencies.

Conceptually, "transition rate" refers to the sixth grade of primary pupils who make the transition to lower secondary level. However, the term transition rate in the fifth plan was misused by referring to the total number of primary pupils from the first grade who latter made the transition to lower secondary level. Therefore, the target of a 50 per cent transition rate was not the actual number of pupils making the transition to lower secondary schools. This is why the expected transition rate in the fifth plan was set lower than the transition rate targeted in the fourth plan.

This is important since the misuse or confusion of terms by related agencies may affect subsequent planning strategies. The progress of students' transition from primary to lower-secondary seemed slow to change. It was noted that unless the government took immediate action to improve the transition rate, there would be serious implications for the future educational standards of the Thai people.

Therefore, *the Sixth National Education Development Plan (1987-1991)* was designed to increase the transition rate and provide more educational opportunity at the lower secondary level. It can be said that the sixth plan repeated the aims of the fifth plan. This may have been designed to resolve the ineffectiveness of the fifth plan which was hampered by the use of these confusing terms (NEC, 1987).

The sixth plan was seen as particularly important for the development of economic and social conditions in the country as well as having an obvious educational input. At this time a clearer policy regarding the expansion of educational opportunity at secondary level, especially to the less fortunate areas, was intended to eliminate the disparities of educational opportunities among geographical areas and children from different economic and social backgrounds (NEC, 1987). However, it was recognised that the capacity of schools for supporting the growth of the school age population was inadequate. In 1987 lower-secondary schooling was able to accommodate only 35% of its school age population, while at upper-secondary schooling, this figure was a mere 15% (NEC, 1987).

Between 1991 and 1996 the effects of scientific and technological progress and the development of the country to newly industrialising country' status underlined the need for skilled human resources in the industrial, business and service sectors. This, combined with an ageing society and a complex social structure, has led to rapid changes in the socio-economic conditions of the country. A variety of social problems (for example living conditions, lifestyles, and the morality of the people) have significantly impacted on the development of agricultural and the industrial sectors, as well as the modern service sector, by creating more complicated living conditions (NESDB, 1987; 1992).

In addition to this economic situation, social and cultural influences from foreign countries have flowed rapidly into Thailand. The high growth in the industrial sector has required skilled labourers with an education beyond primary level. For this reason it has been necessary for the Thai Government to develop strategies to cope with the new environment created by economic requirements. In particular the government has raised people's aspirations and improved their living conditions, knowledge, and ability beyond those of basic, primary level education (NESDB, 1992). Achieving a higher educational level is also expected to generate family development, and social and economic advancement as a whole. Thus the six-year basic education was regarded as inadequate for Thais and it was deemed necessary to expand it to 9 years into the secondary level (NEC, 1992a).

The expansion of basic education to 9 years should have been accomplished during the fifth plan (1982-1986), but was delayed and the sixth plan (1987-1991) merely repeated the aims of the fifth plan. This created an uncertainty for the government in deciding whether to expand compulsory education to 9 years also.

In 1987 the Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) and the Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC) came to an agreement and reported to the Cabinet in a conference on 1 September 1987 that it was time for the state decided to expand basic education to a lower-secondary level (NEC, 1992b). Even though this extended the previous commitment to 6 years of basic education to 9 years, basic education at this level would not be made legally compulsory. This reflected the fact that the state would not force parents to send their children to school, but would give them the privilege and freedom to decide for themselves whether or not their children should continue their studies. It can be argued that this in turn showed that the state was uncertain whether it could provide secondary schooling for the whole school age population.

Between 1989 and 1994 it would have been the safe policy for the state to accept 9 years as the basic education. This would also have reduced the state's obligation to make available satisfactory funds for a universal compulsory 9-year education programme (NEC, 1992b). At this stage the state was unsure about the capacity of its finance to provide 9-year free compulsory education (NEC, 1992b). Had it embarked upon a compulsory 9-year programme, finance to support such a sudden educational provision would have had to have been found. It is necessary to point out that instead in 1992, a programme for 9 years of basic education was agreed in principle although the financial and administrative structures needed to support its implementation were not introduced. NEC suggested that it was due to the lack of schooling readiness and finance to support the basic education; consequently, it was inappropriate for the state to announce the expansion of basic education to the lower-secondary education and make it compulsory for all between 1989 and 1994 (NEC, 1992b).

Since the readiness of state finance and schooling to support a 9-year basic education posed a significant problem, the reform was postponed. Instead of expanding basic education in 1992, according to the target specified in the sixth plan, the state had to choose alternative measures to accelerate the expansion of educational provision to lower-secondary level. These included non-formal education for children who could not come to study at school, and grants and educational loans to poor students who intended to continue their education. These measures had to be taken to encourage more pupils to continue their learning, especially those from less fortunate economic backgrounds (NEC, 1992a).

Accordingly on 30th May 1989, the cabinet passed an alternative resolution on the measures and methods of expansion for basic education to assure an increasing enrolment and transition rate from grade 6 to grade 7 for those who had just completed primary education or had already completed it in previous years. Special support, such as grants, had to be offered to children and young people from less fortunate communities from the country and in the remote areas (NEC, 1992b). It raised the transition rate from grade 6 to grade 7 to 46.2% in 1990 (NESDB, 1987).

In March 1990, "Basic education" was the main issue discussed at the *World Conference on Education for All*, held in Jomtien, Thailand. It was argued that without a minimum duration of education, individual development could not be sustained (WCEFA, 1990a; 1990b). The declaration adopted by the convention was a reflection of the political commitment of developing countries. Subsequently most developing countries have introduced changes in their education policies (UNESCO, 1992; 1993a; 1993b), to fulfil the basic educational needs of their citizens.

The declaration resulted in a renewed commitment by the international community to education development, and "education for all" was proclaimed by the Thai Government in the following terms:

> Education is a fundamental right for every Thai citizen - regardless of gender, age, socio-economic status, place of residence, religious belief .... Every citizen and sector concerned must give priority, and support and make a joint contribution in providing education for all (NEC, 1995a: 2).

This notion reflected the commitment and conformity to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 which stated that "Everyone has the right to education." as well as to article 1 of the WCEFA, which stated that "Every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (WCEFA, 1990a: 3).

The major issue in Thai education has currently been focused on the provision of basic education for all, which has been in principle compulsory and free for six years at state primary schooling. It has served social and economic needs, and has apparently improved productivity in both the rural and urban sectors. It was considered necessary to expand this basic education to lower secondary level (NESDB, 1992). But, under the *Seventh National Education Development Plan 1992-1996*, a programme of nine years of basic education should have been introduced by 1996 as planned, but this did not transpire.

During the sixth plan of 1992-1996 there were changes in the concerns of state agencies for the policy of expansion of educational opportunity. This was operated by mobilising local educational resources from different organisation. The General Education Department under the Ministry of Education was the key agency which had taken sole responsibility for formal secondary education and still maintained its services in state secondary schools. Other agencies, having only the responsibility for primary education were authorised to support the provision of lower secondary education. This was intended to increase the capacity of the state schooling at lower secondary level. It is, therefore, the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) under the Ministry of Education was given approval to expand the primary education service to lower secondary level. Provision was to be expanded by 1,000 classrooms each year to the required target of 42,000 by 1994. Moreover, from 1991, the Public Administration Department under the Ministry of Interior Affairs was authorised to manage the municipal schools and the schools in Pattaya City teaching lower secondary education (NEC, 1992b).

In 1992, 6.75 million pupils were in primary level education, but only 1.99 million were in lower secondary level (NEC 1987c). This threatened to remain a bottleneck and a major problem for future social and economic development. Since the state saw public schooling was inadequate for those 4.76 million primary pupils, the expansion of compulsory education to include lower secondary education was postponed. Instead the expansion has been increased informally by encouraging primary pupils to continue their studies until they reach lower secondary level. These measures were expected to achieve the goal of "accelerating the expansion of lower secondary education in both formal and non-formal schooling with diversified models and methods" (ONEC, 1992c: 13).

The activities proposed under this plan were as follows: to provide various flexible teaching and learning methods to serve the learners' needs in the local community, as well as to accommodate individual differences; to ensure transfer of credits to enable continued learning for those who wanted to change their studies or their educational institutions; to provide public relations campaigns to help parents or guardians and

the students themselves to realise the importance and the benefit of studying at the lower-secondary level; to aim at a transition rate of school-children who completed the primary level of not less than 73 % by 1996 (NEC, 1992c).

However, in light of industrial and economic development where the GDP in the years 1992-1996 reached 10.5 % per annum, twice the envisaged target, the nation's economic structure has become more internationalised (NESDB, 1992). The highly competitive world market has led to a change in the previous term "basic education". Six years as a compulsory basic education was now considered inadequate for the Thai population, since unskilled and inexperienced workers were in low demand in the labour market, and there was a shortage of skilled labour, technicians and experts (NESDB, 1992; 1997).

The disparities of skills and education among different groups may also serve to widen income distributions in the future. Agricultural workers and general manual workers are still the groups with the lowest incomes. Regional disparities also existed as Bangkok and its surrounding towns play the dominant role in the economy with a 48% contribution to Thailand's GDP in 1989 (NESDB, 1992). Not all benefit from a general increase in wealth. For these reasons, twelve years of education is now believed to be necessary and is expected to bring about a fairer distribution of income to rural people (NESDB, 1997).

The Eighth National Education Development Plan 1997-2001 sets definite guidelines for a reform to make possible 12 years of basic education programme for all Thai citizens. While the country's economy is in a downturn this is likely to cause uncertainty in terms of the finance which is to allocated for educational provision (NESDB, 1997). According to the current *Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 1997*, the basic educational coverage includes primary, lower-secondary level and upper-secondary level, the latter including vocational and technical education (Thailand, 1997).

The reasons for adding another three years to basic education concern the progress of information technology and telecommunications, and the competition and trade with other countries, all of which are unavoidable. The employment of new technology depends significantly on foreign investors and on a small number of large local entrepreneurs, while the natural resources of the country and the cheap labour of the majority poor population will continue to be exploited by more technologically advanced foreigners and the small local elite.

A further reason is that the economic security and stability of the country depends upon the potential of a new generation of Thais; and, according to a survey by the National Educational Commission, only 80% of the labour force has completed primary education and few have completed lower-secondary level (NEC, 1993). If this current standard of education continues, many people, especially the poor, will have little chance to improve their living standard. The country may not move forward to becoming a developed country in the future if most of the population still fails to complete lower-secondary education.

It is hoped that the expanded level of education to lower and upper secondary levels including vocational study, calculated as a proportion of the school age population of 12-14 and 15-17 year olds respectively, will be not less than 95%, and 70% by the year 2001 respectively (NEC, 1997). It is, therefore, foreseeable that the Thai Government will have to provide a larger portion of its resource allocation to meet the high demand for basic education in the near future.

In the past between 1966 and 1990, the Thai Government allocated 2.78-3.62% of the GDP for educational provision (NEC, 1994). Since 1980, the Thai Government has allocated about 15-18% per annum of the national budget to education (NESDB, 1997). This large public expenditure has still not been sufficient to cope with the increased demand. Moreover, since there have been scarce resources and high demands made by other urgent economic undertakings, the budget allocation for education has been limited.

In conclusion, therefore, this chapter shows that there are problems with the introduction and implementation of a 12-year educational reform. For three decades until 1997 Thailand's population has only had six-years of compulsory primary education. It has been noted that this is considered too low to keep up with new information technology, especially in the context of the impact of globalisation. With current minimum primary education, it may be argued that the 20% who make up the poorest cohort of the Thai population are still less able to develop a better quality of life (NESDB, 1992; 1997).

For them, as for all people, education is important both as a human right and as a means to improve living conditions. Therefore, if the current standard of education of the population is not raised in the immediate future, the country will not be able to maintain its commitment to become a "developed" nation. Two-thirds of Thailand's 60 million population complete only primary education level and they have tended to remain relatively impoverished despite the country achieving higher economic growth rate (NESDB, 1997).

It, therefore, follows that the central issue in education is finance. It is central and crucial if the basic education is to be expanded to twelve years by 2001. This will mean a large increase in the numbers of pupils continuing on to secondary level. However, it has been seen that there are insufficient funds for schooling and free education for all would be extremely difficult if not it impossible to maintain as policy.

Therefore, financial feasibility is undoubtedly the first and major determinant to emerge in consideration of the delivery system of the twelve-year basic education. This becomes a constraint when basic education is provided to the whole school age population from primary to secondary levels, since the target group must expand immediately; correspondingly the capacity to support this requirement, such as school facilities, teacher, and educational finance must be increased incrementally.

It has been seen in the foregoing that to cope with this urgent problem in the long run, the government has decided to extend the existing six–year compulsory primary education to twelve years. By proclaiming the nation-wide expansion of basic education to twelve years, starting from 1997, the Thai Government has been obliged to make this basic education progressively "compulsory" and available free to all children (Thailand, 1997). There appears to be an urgent need for drastic action by the government to bridge the gap between the policy planner and the implementing agencies, especially following the national and Asian financial crises which has caused the Thai economy to suffer a sudden downward trend since July 1997. It led to the decrease in the GDP between 1996 and 1997 from 6.4% to 2.5% accordingly (Sonakul, 1998; Wibulswasdi, 1998).

Finally, therefore, it is argued that if the state and other relevant agencies are unable to address the complex educational/financial interface, and are unable to mobilise sufficient resources to raise the capacity of educational provision, there will be no possibility of the country achieving this target. This is a crucial consideration for the state in determining the level and distribution of educational resources and budget allocation if it wishes to provide a twelve-year basic education for all by 2001.

The principal focus of this study: in an era of diminishing financial security/success, contextualised within increasingly economically aggressive global markets, how can a country such as Thailand, realistically maintain its commitment to 12 years of basic education? To understand it fully it is necessary to analyse the system of education in Thailand which is examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: The System of Education in Thailand

Thailand was the only country in South East Asia to avoid Colonialism. Its educational system has undergone much development, and in order to understand the implementation of this for the study of education policy and provision, this chapter will examine changes and developments in education. Following a historical overview of educational development, this chapter will outline the present educational system and will delineate the administrative machinery of education in Thailand.

Part I: Historical overview of educational development

The development of the education system in Thailand can be divided into five major periods from the early historic Sukhothai period dating back to the twelfth century, to the modernisation that has taken place during the present Rattanakosin period. Each period is illustrated by significant educational developments:

- the early period, 1237-1850
- the initial period, 1851-1910
- the formal period, 1911-1931
- the modern period, 1932-1957
- the development planning period, 1958 onwards

The early period started in the twelfth century when Thais formed the first Kingdom of Sukhothai in what is present day northern Thailand, and then expanded territorially southwards (Wyatt, 1969). In the period 1237 to 1850 Thai education was developed informally and originated from three institutions: Buddhist temples, the King's palaces and commoner families (Panapop, 1991). The Buddhist temples played the dominant role in education since King Ramkamhaeng, the third King of the Sukhothai kingdom, adopted Buddhism as a national religion (Na-talang, 1988). In 1283 he also created the Thai language; previously the script was complex to write and involved an excessively convoluted grammar. The policy on education during the Sukhothai period was dictated by the King, and due to his concern with the morals and ethics of the Thai population, Buddhist temples throughout the Kingdom were encouraged to become socio-cultural centres of community and places of specialised wisdom. These provided children with a Buddhist philosophy in a broader framework of ethics and moral studies (Na-talang, 1988) which were highly valued by Thai society (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). These subjects constituted the basic education of the Sukhothai period. Education was not compulsory by law, but the effect of compulsion was solidly established by social norms. Male Thais were, therefore, expected to be understanding and responsible for their families, having attended Buddhist education at a temple and latter in a monastery (Na-talang, 1988).

In the earlier part of the Sukhothai period (1237-1350), parents sent their male children to reside at the temples for study. Thereafter, when they reached the age of twenty, they were expected to enter a monastery where they learned to read and write more difficult Buddhist texts in the Pali and Sanskrit languages until they attained the highest level of Buddhism; by contrast female commoners, slaves and children of slaves were not allowed access to education of this type (Panapop, 1991).

This is by no means implied that female education was less important than male education, or that there was social discrimination between gender in the Sukhothai period. Indeed females acquired a different type of education which equipped them with good social practices and taught them to be housewives. Such subjects were learned within their families.

In the latter half of the Sukhothai period (1351-1868), education was developed further since it was no longer solely focused on the religious preparation of monks (Na-talang, 1988).

> The Thai monastery or Buddhist temple was the centre of all [subjects of learning], such as art, medicine, astronomy, law, philosophy, sculpture and science; but all these were ancillary attributes of monkhood. All subjects were taught by monks... (Wyatt, 1969: 12).

It was organised into two categories: the first was for monks who studied Buddhism directly; the latter, also organised in the temples, was for the children of commoners who studied general education, such as Thai language, arithmetic and arts (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

The influence of Buddhism significantly increased during the period of the Ayudthaya Empire (1350-1767). The roles of monks became increasingly important since the Kings at that time declared that they would not appoint anyone to serve in their court who had not entered the religious practice (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). This began a powerfully influential tradition in the recruitment of state officials.

The royal palaces provided another kind of education that was at first reserved for the children of the royal family, but latter on the children of noblemen and high ranking officials were also granted the privilege of receiving it (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). The subjects they learned were similar to the ones in the temples but concentrated on the military arts of weaponry and strategy as the Kings and the royal family had responsibility for the stability of the kingdom and, therefore, had to ensure that there were people skilled in these important matters at that time. Other subjects taught were Buddhist thought, public administration, arithmetic, astronomy and geography (Na-talang, 1988). All young males were required to have access to military training organised by the military division of the palaces where they were trained in Thai–boxing[1], weaponry skills and Thai ethics based on Buddhism (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

The families of commoners were interested in their children learning agricultural and social skills in the context of the social norms of the extended family. It was the popular custom for parents to send their children to relatives so that they had an opportunity to learn a broader spectrum of occupations, as well as consolidating comprehensive relationships among family clans. Education for the daughters of commoners was unchanged; the girls were taught at their homes in housework and good social practices (Na-talang, 1988). This was because these aspects were deemed more important for their lives; it seemed unnecessary for them to learn how to read and write. Few of the nobility and high-ranking officials were able to obtain education for their children in the royal palaces (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

[1] During Sukhothai, Ayudthaya and the beginning of Rattakosin periods until 1910, Thai–boxing was not a type of sport or physical education, but it was martial combat skills for warring aspects. Since this was significant to the country's security, all men had to be trained.

As time passed, the provision of a more formal system of education using the available educational resources became a dominant activity at the King's palaces and temples, while the commoner families continued their education on a limited basis (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986). These two streams of education were latter consolidated in the time of Kings Rama IV and Rama V of the Rattanakosin period in the second half of the 1800s to form the basis of the present system of Thai education (Wyatt, 1969).

The Thai Kingdom of Ayudthaya was formed as a result of a change of dynasty, and it expanded its territory over present-day Laos and Malaysia. This period (1350-1767) was a golden age when the country was a centre of international trade among Asian nations (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986). This brought about national prosperity and the development of religious arts, but the education system still remained the same as in the former period (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986). However, the development of education during the Ayudthaya period led to no significant change because the Kings concentrated on the expansion and security of the country's territory and trade with other countries. It should be noted that private schools were established by Portuguese and French missionaries mainly to propagate Christian faiths. These schools were not popular among Thais and failed to compete with the temple schools providing the traditional form of monastic education (Na-talang, 1988).

Latter in 1779, the Burmese sacked and burned the whole capital and pillaged much valuable property; this brought the Ayudthaya period to an end. The period between 1779 and 1781 was the short era of Thonburi when there was no King and the capital city was moved for security reasons (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). Fear of the enemy and preoccupation with security brought no improvement in education during this period. In 1782 a new King, Rama I, founded the Chakri Dynasty; this was the beginning of the Rattanakosin period. The capital city was moved to Bangkok where the Chaopraya river formed a barrier in the path of the Burmese enemy. The following

century was spent building the new capital city, surrounded by three barriers of walls and canals (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

The initial period 1851-1910

In the Rattanakosin period, between 1821 and 1910, education was provided in provincial and metropolitan monasteries (Panapop, 1991). The general practice was that Thai boys would be sent to be educated at the local monasteries where the monks acted as teachers and the abbots as headmasters. The method of education was not systematic; the monks taught only when they were free and the boys could be taken from temples by their parents when they were needed to do agricultural work at home (Na-talang, 1988). After the age of twenty most young men were ordained as monks and further education could be obtained for certain periods depending upon their needs. As before, education for females was carried out at home entailing housework and good social practices (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989).

During the last four decades of the Early Rattanakosin period from 1825-1867, western imperialism and commercial power began to impinge upon Thai political consciousness (Wyatt, 1969). It was also during this period that western thought began to challenge traditional Thai ways of thinking and religious beliefs, but the Thai reaction to the West was based on a positive attitude, since new subjects such as comparative religions, ancient and modern languages, modern medical practice, sciences and international affairs became available (Sirisampan and Sanitwong, 1968).

The role of education in this critical period between 1851 and 1910 was seen as a tool to produce a new generation of leaders and administrators in order to anticipate and keep pace with the momentum of the great reforming processes. It has been argued by many writers that Thai education has gradually changed since 1825 due to two main

reasons. These were the threat of western imperialism combined with uncertain internal political movements. This, therefore, led to changes in military organisation, to reform of the national administration and to strengthening control over the provinces (Sirisampan and Sanitwong, 1968; Saihoo, Chantavanich and Thongutai, 1983; Wyatt, 1969).

King Mongkut (Rama IV), who reigned from 1851 to 1868 in the Ratanakosin period was a monk for seventeen years, and was the first King who studied English, Latin, science, geography and astronomy with foreign missionaries. After ascending to the throne, he engaged Western tutors for the royal children, one of whom was an English governess (Wyatt, 1969). King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), who reigned from 1868-1910, improved the palace education when he founded the first formal school within the royal palace in 1871 (Mulsilp, 1973). The school was for his royal relatives' children and those of his courtiers who enrolled in the militarised "Royal Corps of Pages" (Panapop, 1991). The school did not operate on a regular personal basis but had a formal system with a regular headmaster and teachers who taught according to a timetable and in proper classrooms. This period marked the first appearance of tertiary education in Thai history, with the opening of the Royal Peace School in 1899, providing a three-year course for future administrators. It only served this purpose until 1910, when it was merged with the Sirirat Medical School and the Teacher Training School which had been founded in 1889 and 1892 respectively (Lingat, 1954; Lord, 1969).

Thus, much of the teaching in formal schooling from 1851 to 1868 was conducted along western lines (Wyatt, 1969). The main objective in establishing the school was to teach and prepare students to serve in the national administration services (MOE, 1964). Soon after the setting up of the first school, the King established others in the palaces especially for the teaching of the English language as a subject in the curriculum. The King introduced these innovations in order to produce the qualified civil servants urgently needed at that time for the reform of the administration system of the country. At the same time in 1874 slaves were set free (Mulsilp, 1973). As a

result, efforts at educational reform were soon directed not only towards the expansion of primary schools but also towards the establishment of public secondary schools and the encouragement of private participation in education provision (MOE, 1964).

In 1880 the King founded Sunantharai school, a palace school, for female commoners. This was followed in 1881 by another palace school which was opened for male commoners at Suan Kularb Palace; indeed several temple schools were opened for commoners, such as the Mahanparam temple schools in 1884, a medical school in 1889, and a teacher training school in 1892 (Lingat, 1954). Native English speaking teachers were allowed to teach English at Suan Kularb Palace and Thepsirin school. Textbooks in English were allowed to be used at secondary level (Wyatt, 1969). In the following years more temple schools[2] were opened in Bangkok. In addition to this, the King sent his own sons to Europe for further studies and encouraged the opening of private schools by foreign missionaries (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

Since there were now more schools, in 1887 the Department of Education was established. It took responsibility for the general development of education, and for organising and promoting education, textbook production, state school inspection, and the demonstration of effective teaching methods (MOE, 1964). These tasks remained the same when it was expanded to become the Ministry of Education in 1892. The Ministry of Education functioned as a supporting unit responsible for general aspects of education and as a registry office for all schools in the kingdom. Between the years 1885 and 1886 there were 19 primary schools in Bangkok which accommodated 1,504 pupils, and 10 primary schools in other provinces which accommodated 510 pupils (Wyatt, 1969).

[2] Temple schools during this period were different from ones in Sukhothai and Ayudthaya periods. They had specific school facilities and they provided formal education and instructions based on the national curriculum. Standard textbooks and exams were introduced by the Ministry of Education.

In 1902 after the reorganisation in the administrative structure was completed, a provincial education plan was also implemented when the formal educational system was for the first time divided into two categories: general education consisting of pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary levels; and specialised education covering specialised studies such as teacher training, fine arts, law, medicine, handicrafts, agriculture, and business (MOE, 1964). The reorganisation of the Ministry of Education gave it more authority by adding planning to its remit. However, the MOE was still not designated for educational provision.

> The effects of this reorganisation and its significance will be readily apparent to anyone familiar with the present-day educational system of Thailand, which retains many of the most prominent features of the 1902 reorganisation. Its permanence is due primarily to the fact that it was at this point that an integrated, clearly interrelated educational system came into being...(Wyatt, 1969: 318-319).

From 1902, the King had the intention of providing education for all citizens throughout the kingdom to enable commoners and those released from slavery, on 27 August 1874, who had newly become commoners to acquire general educational knowledge and practical skills in accordance with their abilities and interests (Wyatt, 1969: 51; Mulsilp 1973). The King had seen that education for all was another essential tool in preparing people for a democratic system in the future. This meant that the idea of providing education for all, in Thailand, was originated by the King 90 years before the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien in 1990.

During 1902 and 1903 there were 76 primary schools (7,200 pupils) in Bangkok and 300 schools (14,917 pupils) in other provinces (Wyatt, 1969).

> ...the minister for some years had experienced great difficulty in persuading parents to send their children to modern schools or to see the value of modern education. The Ministry found itself unable to provide sufficient schools for all those who wished to attend, and every school was filled immediately upon opening its doors (Wyatt, 1969: 305).

This can be accounted the first stage of basic educational provision for all in Thailand. To implement this educational policy the Ministry of Interior Affairs was, in 1908, designated responsible for educational management and provision for all Thai citizens (MOE, 1964), while the Ministry of Education was in charge of formulating curricula, rules and regulations, and registering and monitoring the academic aspects of all schools. (See details of educational management in part 3 of this chapter.) However, during this first stage compulsory education did not exist; - people could decide for themselves whether or not to undertake education

The formal period (1911-1931)

King Wachirawut (Rama VI) who reigned after his father, King Chulalongkorn, was interested in expanding the country's educational services (Panapop, 1991). For instance, he set up the country's first university, Chulalongkorn University, as an institution of higher learning in 1917.

The years between 1911 and 1931 were the so-called "formal" period because it was the first time that educational provision had been provided in a formal schooling system on a classroom and scheduled basis. All schools complied with the Ministry of Education's national curricula. What may be called the second stage of basic education for all can be said to have begun when two educational acts were introduced. In 1918 the *Private School Act* was issued and brought privately sponsored schools under the registration and supervision of the Ministry of Education (Thani, 1984). In 1918 there were 427 private schools and 2,960 state schools (Intarangkul Na Ayudya, 1981).

In 1921 the King and his government continued the idea of education for all by promulgating the *Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1921.* This was to ensure, as it stated, that every seven-year-old child was to receive four-year free primary education until graduation up to the age of fourteen (MOE, 1921). To finance this a direct educational tax was levied to ensure the adequacy of the establishment and maintenance of primary education provision. The educational budget from the tax resulted in a greater number of public schools. By 1921, there were 533 private schools and 5,114 state schools (Intarangkul Na Ayudya, 1981).

The scope of this compulsory act extended to all school age children regardless of social class or gender in the areas where educational provision was available. However in practice it was partial compulsion - in the areas without such facilities children were not obliged to go to school. In some provinces where schooling was available but limited in quantity, the provision was, therefore, based on "first come first served".

This meant that when the schools were full, the remaining children were automatically exempted from compulsory education in that particular year. Therefore, when the compulsory act was first implemented, most girls were prevented from attending basic schooling by delay in their enrolments (Nakornthab, 1987). Because, between 1911 and 1931, basic education in terms of literacy was still considered unnecessary for female participation.

During this period formal general secondary schools were highly popular in Bangkok and the provinces, whereas vocational secondary schools developed slowly and were not popular among people since these schools were considered suitable only for less able children (Thani, 1984). Therefore, only a small number of vocational schools were established to provide education in the areas of commerce, arts and handicrafts (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986). For these reasons compulsory education according to this act served only as a foundation for basic education; there was as yet no universal primary education.

In 1932 there was a great change in the history of Thailand: A national revolution by coup d'etat put by force the absolute monarchy under a constitutional system which aimed to imitate the British system of government. Parliament comprised two houses: the House of Senators and the House of People's Representatives. [The Prime Minister appointed all members of the House of Senators. Half of the members of the House of People's Representatives were also appointed by the Prime Minister and the remaining half were elected by the peoples; since 1981 all members of the House of Representatives have been elected (Panapop, 1991). At the moment all senators are still appointed by the Prime Minister.]

Subsequent to the change of political system, there was political uncertainty. Internally this was due to political rivalry at both a personal and a party level. External pressures included reformations, revolutions, rebellions and insurrections by the military forces.

From 1932 the role of education management then shifted to becoming the responsibility of the government and cabinet. As the political system was designated as the mechanism for national development legislation, planning, formulation of public policies and national development projects had to be channelled through it. Thus due to the changeable nature of the political system, the development of education was constantly changing.

The revolutionary political reform of 1932 caused an improvement in the educational provision of the whole country, since the government saw compulsory education as a tool to support a democratic system of government. The constitutional government promised to establish a fully elected parliament as soon as half of the population in each province had completed four years of primary education (Thani, 1984).

However, according to the *National Education Plan of 1932*, the length of primary education was six years, while secondary education was eight (MOE, 1932a). The government decided to reduce primary education to four years and secondary education to six. This meant a reduction in its education burden. The new educational policy stipulated that at least fifty percent of all children throughout the country between the ages of 7-14 must complete a four-year primary education within the ten years between 1932 and 1942 (MOE, 1932a).

The reason for the reduction was because of the backlog created by compulsory education before the revolution as a result of inadequate schooling for the massive enforcement of school children throughout the country. Subsequently, since 1937 the government encouraged more private sector participation by providing financial subsidy to private schools to enhance the capacity of education provision of the country (NEC, 1987a). During this earlier period in 1927, there had been 831 private schools with 550,064 students, and 5,194 state schools with 581,967 students. In 1936, by contrast, the number of schools and students increased drastically; there were 1,235 private schools with 85,978 students, and 9,344 state schools with 1,313,205 students (Intarangkul Na Ayudya, 1981). The role of private participation will be discussed in chapter 5.

In order to sustain the new type of government, the education system was more oriented towards political socialisation. The set up of education was much influenced by the English system due to the fact that many high-ranking Thai officials had had their training in England and also to the influence of Great Britain in Southeast Asia. Also the consultant to the Ministry of Education was an Englishman (Wyatt, 1969).

The levels of education which were established were: pre-primary for children between 3 and 7 years of age, which was not compulsory; primary level, which was compulsory and divided into four grades for children between 7 and 14 years of age where the enrolment age was varied according to the readiness of children so that graduating could take place at up to 14 years old. Secondary education divided into lower-secondary, grades 1-3; and upper-secondary, grades 4-6. There were two tracks within secondary education: academic/general education and vocational education. Pre-university education covered grades 7 and 8 and basically prepared students for university education (MOE, 1936).

The development planning period (1958 onwards)

After the Second World War, the world economy was in crisis. It resulted in changes in the policy of the Thai Government. It was strongly concentrated on nationalism which aimed to protect the economy and to create national unity. For these reasons the state controlled the most significant businesses, such as public infra structures and services, and initiated the introduction of state public enterprises. Foreigners were not allowed to invest in Thailand (Adulpun, Sithiprasat and Thananan, 1986). Owing to the slow development of the nation, the Thai Government requested a working group from the World Bank to survey the national economy in 1955. In 1956 the government appointed a committee comprising delegates from the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Thailand, with Dr John A. Loftus as a consultant, to conduct an assessment of national development needs (Adulpun, Sithiprasat and Thananan, 1986). However, owing to "the nationalist policy of Field Marshal Pibulsongkram this did not provide benefits to American investors; therefore, Field Marshal Sarit Thanarate was supported and this led to the revolution on September, 1957 when he assumed the post of the Prime Minister" (Makasiri, 1986: 31-133). Thereafter the United States' role [under the auspices of the World Bank] influenced the national economy by proposing an economic development plan that supported investment by foreigners (NEC, 1987a).

The Thai Government had to negotiate a loan from the World Bank (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989). It was interesting that at this time of economic crisis, the implement of the World Bank in Thailand's educational system, there emerged a new educational administrative system. The rescue package and the influence of international organisations now came to influence the direction of Thai education. Educational development under the political uncertainties of Thailand created change in the administrative structure of education.

A public development programme for Thailand by the World Bank in 1958 suggested that the Thai Government should organise a national unit for planning and formulating a national economic plan (Adulpun, Sithiprasat and Thananan, 1986). This was because there was no organisation undertaking such a comprehensive national plan.

In 1959 at the World Bank's recommendation, the organisational structure of national management was restructured so that the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) was organised for national economic planning, and the National Education Council (NEC[3]) for national educational planning (Adulpun, Sithiprasat and Thananan, 1986). By the recommendation of the committee of planning on education, the National Education Council[3] was appointed to serve as the national education planning body and co-ordinating agency for the development schemes of all levels of education (NEC, 1988).

[By the NEC act of 1959 (revised 1969), NEC exercised control of private colleges, university, educational research and co-ordination with other educational agencies (NEC, 1988).] (The functions of the NEC are discussed in part 3 of this chapter.)

In addition, the managerial structure of the NESDB was different from the suggestions made by the World Bank.

> The board of committee comprises the prime-minister as a chairman, two ministers as vice-chairmen, the head of the NESDB, ministers in charge of each departments, and forty-five high ranking officials and experts from different professions. Because of the actual size of the board there are few formal meetings. In practice, concerning policy management, a small board of the committee comprising nine experts and the head of the NESDB meets once a week (Author's field note based on a participant observation at NESDB, 1997).

[3] The name of the National Education Council has latter changed to the National Educational Commission. The abbreviation is still NEC.

In 1959, before Thailand's National Development Plan was implemented, the UNESCO held a Regional Meeting of Representatives of Asian Member State on Primary and Compulsory Education in Karachi (UNESCO, 1960a). This was the first step towards international organisation in Asia and the Pacific region. The principle that education is a human right was then delivered through a series of regional meetings and conferences, mentioned in the previous chapter.

The Karachi plan (as we mentioned earlier) set forth the significant goal for Asia that every country of this region should provide a system of universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years or more within a period of not more than twenty years (1960-1980) (UNESCO, 1960a; 1961). Followed by a regional conference in Tokyo in 1962, there was the *Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States Participating in the Karachi Plan* MINEDAS I. The Tokyo conference adopted the Karachi plan calling on the member states to set up a system of education which could provide free compulsory education for all children (UNESCO, 1962). The conferences of MINEDAS have been most productive in promoting regional co-operation in education and in turn have led to other co-operative associations of countries at sub-regional or bilateral levels.

Nevertheless the impact of the Karachi plan on educational development during the 1960s appeared to have been slight (Fredriksen, 1981; Watson, 1981). However, it did lead to the developments of the 1960s. This was because "a minimum of 7-year universal primary education was recommended as a desirable goal" (Watson, 1981: 33), and 15 countries in Asian and the Pacific, including Thailand, were recommended to formulate and implement educational plans for universal primary education. The target for achieving it was set for 1980 (Fredriksen, 1981; Watson, 1981).

The degree of impact of these conferences varied depending upon how seriously the government of each country took it. Its impact on Thailand's educational development was obvious, since the leader of the government, Tanarat, agreed with the principle of "universal primary education" (UPE) drawn up in the Karachi plan (NEC, 1987b). This led to a change in the length of compulsory education from four years to seven years in 1960. Subsequently the structure of education was set at seven years of primary and five years of secondary education (MOE, 1960).

After the coup d'etat headed by Field Marshall Sarit Tanarat, government policy placed heavy emphasis on national development. Tanarat stated that,

> As a leader of the revolution and the head of the government, two aspects were concentrated upon: solving the country's economic problems that had to be incorporated with education; and developing the country's economy (Address of Sarit Thanarat in Unakul, 1969: 81).

It should be noted that this period was entitled development planning because it was the first time the administrative body has delivered a master plan as guidelines for all developments. Going back to 1959, it should be noted that this period the National Economic and Social Development Board formulated the first *National Economic Development Plan* (a six-year plan) was implemented in the period 1960-1966; in this, the infra-structure and economic development were incorporated; compulsory education was not mentioned, but the plan advocated the improving of vocational education and the production of science students at university level (NESDB, 1960). It is worth mentioning that an education development plan was not an integral part of the scheme for national development because the plan was introduced before the Karachi plan, but it was formulated and implemented separately by the National Educational Commission (NEC), which had responsibility for national education planning.

In 1968, due to the revolution of Kittikachorn, the constitution of 1968 was withdrawn leading to the end of parliament and political parties. Latter in 1971, due to the change of political leadership when Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn as the Prime Minister, many organisations were established. The Bureau of State Universities (latter known as the Ministry of University Affairs) was established to take responsibility for state universities and the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) for private education (NEC, 1988). Since the freedom and rights of citizens were threatened, on 16 October 1973 students protested and forced the government to resign (Nakornthab, 1987).

An important education reform was then implemented on 31 March 1977 by Royal Decree and a new *National Scheme of Education* was introduced. The new structure of the educational system was based on the American prototype due to the influence of assistance programmes of UNESCO in the form of bilateral aid agreements. The new educational structure consisted of: pre-primary education, primary education, lower-secondary education, and upper-secondary education, for age groups of 3-5, 6-11, 12-14 and 15-17 respectively; and higher education, consisting of (i) bachelor's degree level and below, and (ii) above bachelor's degree level. Moreover, special education was introduced for providing the disadvantaged grouping from 6-17 years old in parallel with non-formal education (NEC, 1989).

It is worth noting that due to the educational system restructuring the duration of compulsory primary education was reduced from seven to six years. This was to be compatible with the 6:3:3 system – 6-year primary, 3-year lower secondary and 3-year upper secondary or vocational education. However to compensate for the missing learning period, the number of teaching days of the new primary education curriculum (200 days) was greater than the old one (180 days) due to 20 days being added to each level. [It is important to note that universal primary education in Thailand was only started from the year 1977.]

According to the *National Education Scheme, 1977*, it was stated that

> the state shall make compulsory primary education universal. The state and its local educational institutes shall provide education free of charge at this level (MOE, 1990: 20).

Thailand's educational scheme, therefore, reflected the principle of "human rights" and international conferences laid by the UN and the UNESCO. It was a state political commitment to support a compulsory primary educational provision. However, progress towards Universal Primary Education of Thailand was unlikely to reach its target due to political uncertainty. It can be seen by the fact that in 1977 the gross enrolment proportion in primary education ranged between 70-79% of the total primary school age population (Fredriksen, 1981: 5).

From the foregoing, it has been that Thailand suffered from political uncertainty for many decades. During that period – between the revolution in 1932 and 1981 – there were 22 governments and half of them came into existence by way of a coup d'etat (unpublished data, Office of the Prime Minister, 1994). This meant that on average each government remained in office for about two years. These short-term governments showed that when the educational system of the country was not coherently unified, educational policy and planning did not have long term direction. It can be argued that the entire educational system was more likely to rely on implementation by state agencies managing education in a piecemeal manner.

The compulsory primary education policy stipulated in the constitution in 1932 said that at least fifty percent of the population of children had to complete a primary education of six years to be achieved by 1942 (MOE, 1932a; 1964). As previously mentioned, it had to be postponed another ten years to 1952. The major problems encountered at that period centred on the syllabuses, scarcity of textbooks, national budget shortage, low teaching quality, low enrolment and high dropout and repetition rates, as well as the short period of time each government stayed in office. This suggests that the implementation and successful outcome of educational planning is

more easily and readily achieved by stable, long lasting and more professional governments.

It seems that the capacity of the government during that time could not support the prevailing numbers of the school age population due to the lack of state-provided capacity. Although the government mobilised internal resources by encouraging private participation, and although the project was downsized (from six to four- year compulsory education), the plan failed due to the frequent changes of the political system. In addition there were no effective measures to enforce compulsion. This was a result of what may be called "environmental uncertainty" (Rondinelli et al, 1990, 1992). They see it significant to political and economic environment in developing countries because it is relatively important to the success of educational reform. This will be discussed in detail in the research findings in Chapters 6 and 7.

After 1982 all the members in the House of Representatives were elected by the people. The behaviour of the Members of Parliament who were elected by the people was different from those who were appointed by the Prime Minister. The elected politicians claimed to be working for the benefit of the people so that in the future they would have a better chance of reelection. On the other hand, the majority of those who were appointed by the Prime Minister tended to work for the "national interest" without party political interests. Members of the political parties who wanted to be re-elected would try to fulfil the pledges they had made to the people before being elected. Before the elections they put forward their policies and among these policies was education for the people who will elect them. Consequently they had to pledge a policy favourable to the people. However, the actual implementation of policy is another matter. It depends on the resolutions of Members of Parliament whose decisions are usually influenced by the central national budget.

Currently political uncertainty remains; early in 1997 political turmoil caused the resignation of the Prime Minister followed by a new election in the middle of the year. Then the new Prime Minister resigned in November of the same year due to the national economic crisis (Bangkok Post, 1997; Wibulswasdi, 1998; Sonakul, 1988). A new eight-party coalition was formed. However, the House of Parliament approved a new constitution drafted by representatives especially elected by the people on 27 September 1997. In the constitution, twelve years' compulsory education was stipulated, but the starting year for enforcement has still not been determined pending the drafting and promulgation of a compulsory education act to be announced at a latter date (Bangkok Post, 1997).

For the education policy introduced by the government to be successfully implemented, the state may take on long term planning of education requirements from the lower level of school management upwards. It must also provide enough schools for the nation's children and provide the necessary financial resources to meet expanding educational requirements. To meet these financial requirements policy makers must take into account the capacity of the education machinery and the financial resources of the country. This will be analysed in the following chapters and will constitute the essence of this study.

This section has shown an educational development from the past to the present, and has taken into account political and economic uncertainty. However to understand all aspects, Thailand's educational system and its administrative machinery will be discussed in the following sections in this chapter.

Part 2: The present educational system

It is necessary to give readers a basic understanding of the present educational system in Thailand. According to the goal of the *National Scheme of Education, 1992* the education system of Thailand is designed to assure continuous and "lifelong learning" for individuals in order to promote their intellectual, physical and social development (NEC, 1992a).

Figure 1: The education system according to this national scheme of education of 1992 is:

Level of education

Pre-primary	Primary	Lower-secondary	Upper-secondary or vocational study	Higher education
Age 3-5	6-11	12-14	15-17	18+

Grade level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Source: *The National Scheme of Education of 1992*, (NEC, 1992a)

The formal education system (as restructured by the educational reform introduced in 1992) comprises four levels of education: pre-primary, primary, secondary, and higher education. Pre-primary education covers the ages 3-5 and is considered as preparatory to primary education (NEC, 1992a). In its turn, primary education lasts six-year of compulsory schooling and leads to secondary education which comprises three-year lower and either three-year upper secondary or three-year vocational study levels. Higher education, comprising diploma, degree and post-degree levels, may take place in college or university or a specialised institute. The formal education system is provided in schools or institutions on a classroom basis. The curriculum of formal education is designed to match the educational levels, types of education, school age population and to suit the students' learning abilities, interests and aptitudes.

Pre-primary level

At the pre-primary level, pupils follow a two-year course in public pre-primary schools or a three-year course in private pre-primary education. This is intended to nurture and prepare their physical, mental, intellectual and emotional skills for further study at the primary level (Boonchuay and Siaroon, 1994). It can be organised in the form of day-care centre, kindergarten or child development centre, depending upon target groups and local conditions. Pre-primary education is not compulsory in Thailand, but it takes up to 40 % of the 3-5 year old age group. This area has become an issue of policy interest because it is a preparatory level for children before they attend primary schooling. Both private and public schools offer differing academic standards and varying forms of schooling. The variety of curricula and teaching systems poses a dilemma for parents trying to decide whether a public or a private school is the right choice for their children. The role of private participation in basic education will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Primary level

Children are meant to take six years to complete compulsory primary level education. Primary education emphasises basic literacy, morality and ethics, numerical skills, basic knowledge and literacy, and cultivates desirable behaviour in students (Boonchuay and Siaroon, 1994). The whole primary school age population will be expected to attend secondary education when the 12 years of basic educational programme becomes fully operational. This will create a challenge for the Thai Government and it is a focus of this study because the actual number of the primary school age population is large – 6,754,000 children in 1992 – of whom around 10% are in private schools. This total may exceed the capacity for providing schooling in terms of both places and budget. This will be analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Secondary level

Secondary education is divided into two levels: lower and upper secondary levels. *Lower-secondary education* offers a three-year course which is geared toward developing the students' ethics, knowledge and abilities. The aims of this level are to promote learners' competence in four fields: morality, knowledge, ability and skills beyond the primary level; this is to enable them to identify their needs and interests, to be aware of their aptitudes and to develop their abilities for work and occupational practices (NEC, 1992a).

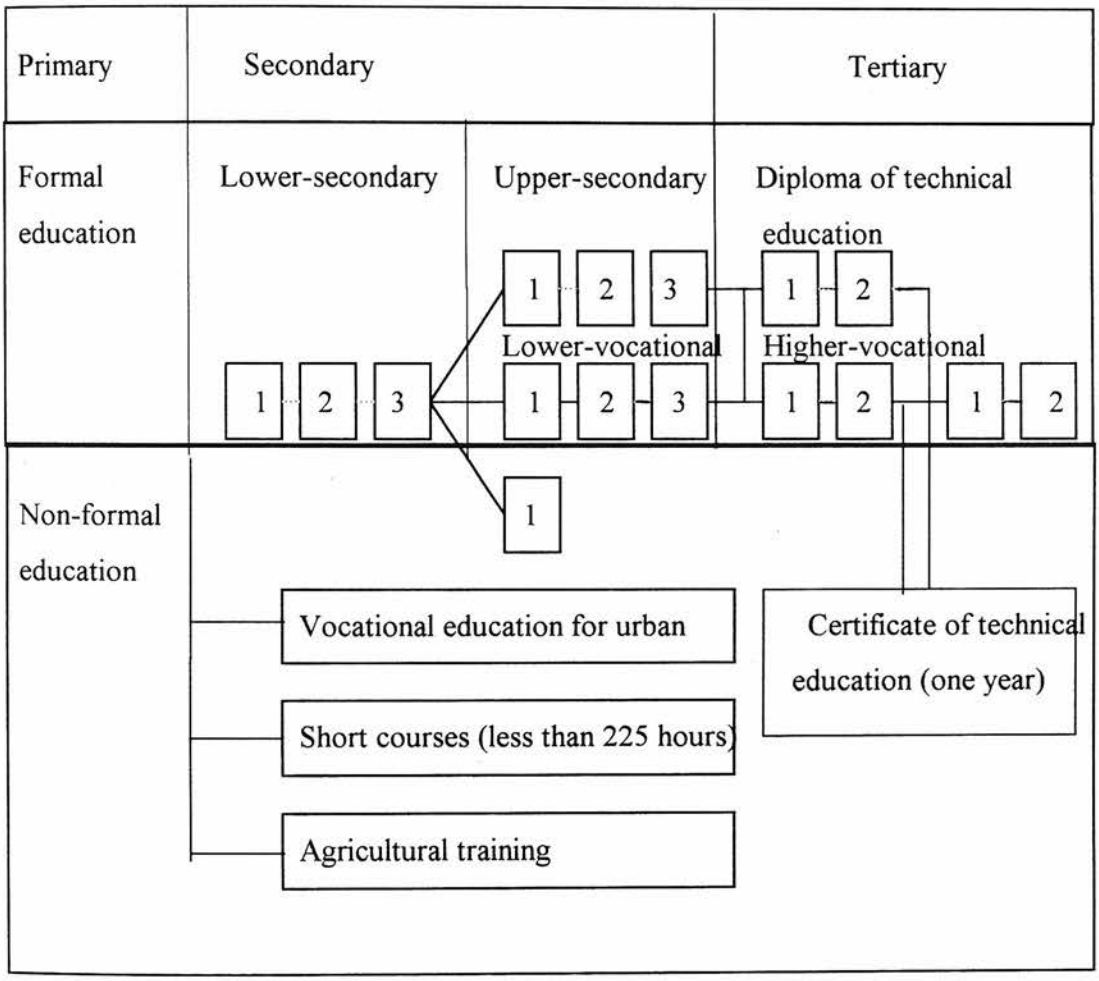
There are two streams: the academic stream (or general upper-secondary education) is offered in general education schools to students who are academically gifted; vocationally oriented courses are provided in vocational and technical schools for students who are good at manual skills.

The government is trying to increase the capacity for providing lower secondary education by expanding state primary schools' facilities or by opening new secondary schools throughout the country. It has tried encouraging primary school pupils to make the transition to the higher level; some who did were subsequently exempted from school fees. This resulted in an increase in the transition rate from 46.2% in 1990 to 73% by 1996 (NESDB, 1992). However, the actual school attenders amounted to only two thirds (1,991,000 students) of the entire lower secondary school age population of 3,485, 000 in 1992.

Upper-secondary education is a three-year period of schooling that functions as a foundation course for students who will proceed to higher education. It aims to enable learners to progress according to their aptitude and interests, and to acquire the basis either for progressing to higher education or for suitable careers either as entrepreneurs or as paid workers; it also aims to promote their morality and ethics, and the social skills necessary for these objectives (Boonchuay and Siaroon, 1994). In principle lower secondary students can choose to attend either upper secondary or vocational education depending on their needs. However, in practice those who have academic talent move on to upper secondary education, whereas those who have lower academic scores are not normally accepted to study at upper secondary level. The ratio of upper secondary to vocational education school age population is well balanced at about 49:51. In 1992 one third of the entire upper secondary school age population were in upper secondary schooling (561,000 of the total 1,564,000).

Vocational education is one of the most significant ways of utilising of human resource development with great potential for adding value to products and services, for contributing to the national economy and for improving the quality of life of the people. The vocational department, within the Ministry of Education, is categorised into industrial trades, agricultural trades, commerce and business administration, home economics and crafts (Thailand, 1996).

Figure 2: System of vocational education



Source: Department of Vocational Education, Ministry of Education (Thailand, 1996: 11)

Vocational education is organised in both formal and non-formal systems. In the formal vocational school system involves the development of occupational knowledge and skills relevant to each level of education from secondary to higher levels, while vocational education in the non-formal system consists of short training courses in specific occupations for those needing to upgrade their knowledge and skills (Thailand, 1996).

The Formal Vocational Education (Thailand, 1996):

- Lower certificate of vocational education
- Higher certificate of vocational education
- Diploma of technical education
- Higher diploma of technical education for teachers

The *lower certificate of vocational education* is divided into two types: formal vocational education and dual vocational training. After graduating from lower secondary school, students can choose either to continue at higher secondary level or lower vocational level to suit their needs.

The *higher certificate of vocational education* is for students who have graduated from the lower vocational education. In 1993, it expanded to the graduates from upper-secondary level. The duration of the educational period is two years.

The *diploma of technical education* is for graduates from the upper secondary level who continue their learning for a further two years.

The *higher diploma of technical education for teachers* is for graduates from higher vocational education who continue their learning for two more years. Graduation at this level is equivalent to a Bachelor degree. On the other hand, students in the academically oriented stream, on obtaining their academic certificate, can proceed to colleges and universities to attend either academic or vocational courses.

The vocational schooling component in the 12 years of basic educational programme includes a 3-year lower vocational education course (lower certificate of vocational education). In 1992 494,000 students out of 1,642,000 children of vocational school age, or one third, were in schooling. Vocational schooling presents a problem because it requires the highest investment compared to any other level (Thailand, 1996). We will see in chapters 6 and 7 the requirements and capacity for providing places and budget for secondary schooling.

Part 3: The administrative machinery of education in Thailand

In former days, when the country was ruled by an absolute monarchy, members of the royal family and their kin were likely to take charge of important offices, such as the Ministry of Interior Affairs, which is the most powerful authority controlling the national finance and affairs of people all over the country. The Ministry of Interior Affairs (MOIA)[4] was authorised to oversee and direct educational management and provision in 1908. The Ministry of Education (MOE), established latter on, was subordinate to the Ministry of Interior Affairs owing to its lesser authority. This was because the MOE was only authorised to take charge of school registry, textbook publications, formulating rules and regulations for schools and formulating curricula for the MOIA (Panapop, 1991).

Until now, by virtue of its jurisdiction over governance and its responsibility for compulsory education enforcement throughout the country, especially in the provinces, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, through its operating arm of offices of provincial education organisation has taken control of the provision and operation of existing community schools (schools run by the communes in the rural areas) and existing municipality schools in the urban areas (Malakul, 1966). Bangkok and Pattaya City come under different administrative acts. The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration under its *Special Act of 1975* has provided schooling only in Bangkok, and the Pattaya City Administration under its *Special Act of 1977* has been responsible for its schooling in Pattaya City. These two municipal administrations are also under the control of the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

[4] The position of the Ministry of Interior Affairs was powerful; the head of the ministry equalled the Prime minister.

The Ministry of Interior Affairs (MOIA) has been partly entrusted with the compulsory primary education responsibility since 1908 because the MOIA was charged with the jurisdiction of governance and local administration all over the country; it has easy access to demographic data that identify the parents whose children have to comply with the Compulsory Education Act. With the entire police force under the authority of the MOIA, compulsory education enforcement on the parents was made easier and takes less effort (MOIA, 1984).

Importantly, funds to cover the cost of administration and operation of primary schools in municipal schools in urban areas and community schools in rural areas, are mainly financed from local municipal taxes [principally from taxes on land and buildings under the jurisdiction of each municipality]. Previously an Education Tax was levied on all males between 18 and 60 years old at the rate of 1-3 Baht per male per year. This education tax was abolished in 1932 when the first constitution was introduced (MOIA, 1984; MOE, 1932a, Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

The Local Administration Department is now responsible for the management of primary and lower secondary education in the municipalities of each province, whereas the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration is responsible for the management of primary and lower secondary education in the Bangkok area, with financial support from and under the supervision of, the Ministry of the Interior Affairs (MOIA, 1984). This means that the MOIA administers and operates the municipal schools and the community schools all over the country without finance from the central national budget [normally national budgetary allocation is approved by the House of Parliament].

It is important to note that in Thailand a community school is different from a private one. Author's experience shows that the community school refers to a public school which is operated by the state. It aims to provide education in some specific areas where schools are needed - schools for minority group, for children in slums. This type of schools accepts financial support from the Ministry of Interior Affairs or communities in each location. Whereas private schools are owned and operated by non-governmental body. They are business orientation institutions serving the owners.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education is also entrusted with the provision of not only compulsory primary education through the Office of National Primary Education (ONPEC), but also with lower and upper secondary education levels through the authority of the General Education Department, and vocational education through the authority of the Vocational Education Department. In addition the MOE is entrusted with regulatory authority at all levels of undergraduate study: post-secondary programmes in technical institutes, colleges of technology, college of vocational education and Rajapat institutions which were previously known as teacher training colleges.

The MOE is, therefore, equipped with auxiliary supporting departments to ensure that national undergraduate education runs smoothly in compliance with the constitution. These supporting departments are the Department of Curricula and Educational Innovation, The Office of the Rajapat Institutes Council [previously known as teacher and training department], the Institute for the Promotion of Sciences and Technology, and twelve Offices of Education Inspector-Generals.

Significantly, with the national budget provided annually, the MOE is in a position to expand primary and secondary education schooling throughout the country especially in both urban and rural areas where schooling facilities are not sufficient to cope with the rapid increase in educational requirements. Primary and secondary schools all over the country owned and run by the MOE have been established in conjunction with municipal and community schools since the promulgation of the first constitution in 1932.

It must be pointed out here that all schools in urban and rural areas operated by the MOE are directly financed from the central national budget. The dichotomy referred to above is concerning the dual responsibility for compulsory education in Thailand. To clarify, all schools mainly financed by local municipal taxes are owned and run by the local municipal governments reporting to the respective provincial governors who are in turn appointed by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. On the other hand, all schools financed by the annual national budget allocation approved by the House of Parliament are owned and run by the Office of the National Primary Education Commission, the Department of General Education, and the Department of Vocational Education - all reporting to the Ministry of Education. The dichotomy is, therefore, logical although complex.

Prior to 1980 public primary schools came mainly under the administration of the Department of Local Administration within the Ministry of Interior Affairs and several government agencies namely, the Department of General Education (Ministry of Education), the Municipal Authorities, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, and teacher training colleges and universities (MOIA, 1984; Mulsilp, 1973). However, with the rapid increase in the school age population, the community schools in the rural areas which were first established by community funding and land donated by affluent people in each particular locality were no longer self-sufficient and were facing financial difficulty from insufficient funds provided by the local municipal governments (MOIA, 1984).

In 1980 there was a change of responsibilities in the administration and provision of primary education when the Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) was set up under the Ministry of Education. Most schools including temple schools were then transferred to the MOE. Since then ONPEC has taken responsibility for most primary education provision; however, the Ministry of the Interior Affairs still manages all schools in municipal areas except for Bangkok and Pattaya City (MOIA, 1984). It should be noted that some public schools in municipal area in Bangkok are operated by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, and some in municipal area in Pattaya City are managed by Pattaya City Administration.

Thus in 1980 the administration and operation of all community schools in rural areas was transferred to the Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) reporting to the Ministry of Education (MOIA, 1984). Obviously this also required the transfer of most school facilities and all teachers who previously had the status of employees with no fringe benefits unlike government civil servants. Now they enjoy the same status as government civil servants and have more fringe benefits than those working in Bangkok by virtue of their places of residence.

Since 1977, under the new statutes enacted by Parliament for the administration and management of primary education, the Office of the National Primary Education Commission has been entrusted with the following authority and responsibilities: planning educational development, preparing budget proposals and budget allocations for primary and pre-primary education; policies concerning the management of primary education; setting standards for academic requirements, school buildings and expenditure; proposing the appointment of directors for Provincial and Bangkok Metropolitan Primary Education; monitoring and evaluating the management of primary education; collecting data and conducting and promoting research on primary education; carrying out all the secretarial work of the ONPEC and other responsibilities as assigned by the ONPEC; and undertaking other actions as specified by law (MOE, 1996). It must be considered to have been a proper and correct move

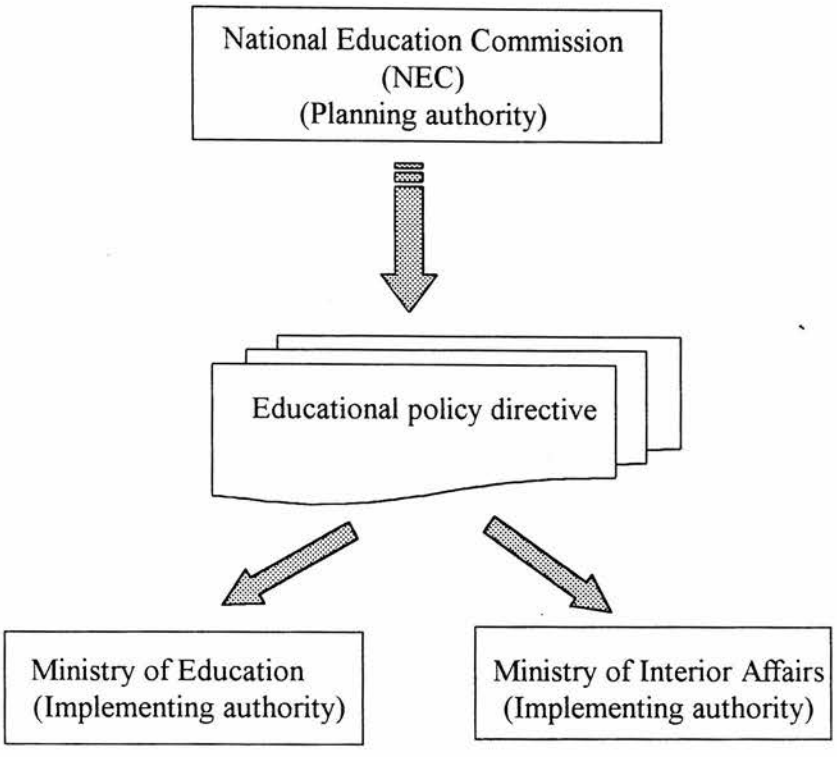
by the government at this period to improve the co-ordination and operation of national primary education system.

However, the schools in the urban areas under the jurisdiction of municipal governments at present remain under the authority of these municipalities while reporting to the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Education provision in municipal areas is still in the hands of the municipal governments by virtue of their jurisdiction there which is in line with the national policy of decentralisation and the democratic principle of self-government (MOE, 1996).

The state administration of education in Thailand is under the responsibility of two major national implementing authorities; namely: the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs although there is one national planning authority, the National Education Commission. Additionally the Ministry of University Affairs is responsible for the administration of higher education and also supervises 13 demonstration schools.

It is the fact through the author's experience that normally a state university which provides school of education operates a school within its environs. This school is called a "demonstration school". It is where the final year graduates are trained as teacher trainees. Each university also conducts research in teaching and learning methods in its own demonstration school. Most of these schools provide pre-primary, primary, lower and upper secondary education. None of them provides vocational education. This type of schools is similar to private ones – and it is operated by its own managerial system and charges tuition fees for all except the staff who work for the university.

Figure 3: Relationship between planning and implementing authorities in the educational administration



The National Education Commission (NEC) was established as a national education planning body under the Office of the Prime Minister, according to the promulgation of the *National Education Council Act of 1959* (ONEC, 1988). This Act was first revised in 1969 with more authorities and responsibilities being given to the NEC particularly in dealing with Higher education (ONEC, 1988). In 1972, with the establishment of the Ministry of University Affairs, the NEC was reorganised. It now served as an advisory body to the Prime Minister and Cabinet on all matters concerning education (ONEC, 1988). The major tasks of the Commission were expanded to cover national education policies and planning for all levels of education. Afterwards in 1978, the act was again revised designating the NEC as a national education policy and planning agency and authorising it to engage in research and evaluation concerning national policy and plan formulation (ONEC, 1995).

Currently, under the present *National Education Commission Act of 1992* (cited in ONEC, 1995), the NEC is responsible for policy making and the planning of all types of education at all levels. Its major task is to consider and propose to the Cabinet national education schemes, national education development plans and policy guidelines. It is also responsible for monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of educational development plans in accordance with the national education scheme (ONEC, 1995).

It must be pointed out here that although the NEC has sole authority over national education planning, this organisation has only "staff" functions. It means that the NEC serves as an advisory body to the Office of the Prime Minister. With this staff authority, it has no command over the implementing agencies; that is to say it has no authority to control, order or impose disciplinary measures on the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Interior Affairs, nor any other implementing agencies. However, the NEC has the authority to report to the Office of the Prime Minister and the Office of the Prime Minister has "line" authority over the implementing agencies.

As a comprehensive national planning authority, the NEC is given an important task and serves as a high ranking national planning authority since it is controlled and supervised by a Board of National Educational Commissioners chaired by the deputy prime minister designated by the Prime minister. It is composed of 26 commissioners [5] (ONEC, 1995), as follows:

1	Minister from the Office of the Prime minister, as a Vice-Chairman
1	Minister of Education
1	Minister of University Affairs
7	Permanent Secretaries, from each of: - the Office of the Prime Minister - the Ministry of Defence - the Ministry of Interior Affairs - the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment - the Ministry of Education - the Ministry of Public Health - the Ministry of University Affairs
1	Director of the National Budget Bureau
1	Secretary-general of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)
12	Experts and scholars in education from ex-officials
1	Secretary-general of the NEC
1	Deputy secretary-general of the NEC, as the Secretary of the Board of National Education Commissioners

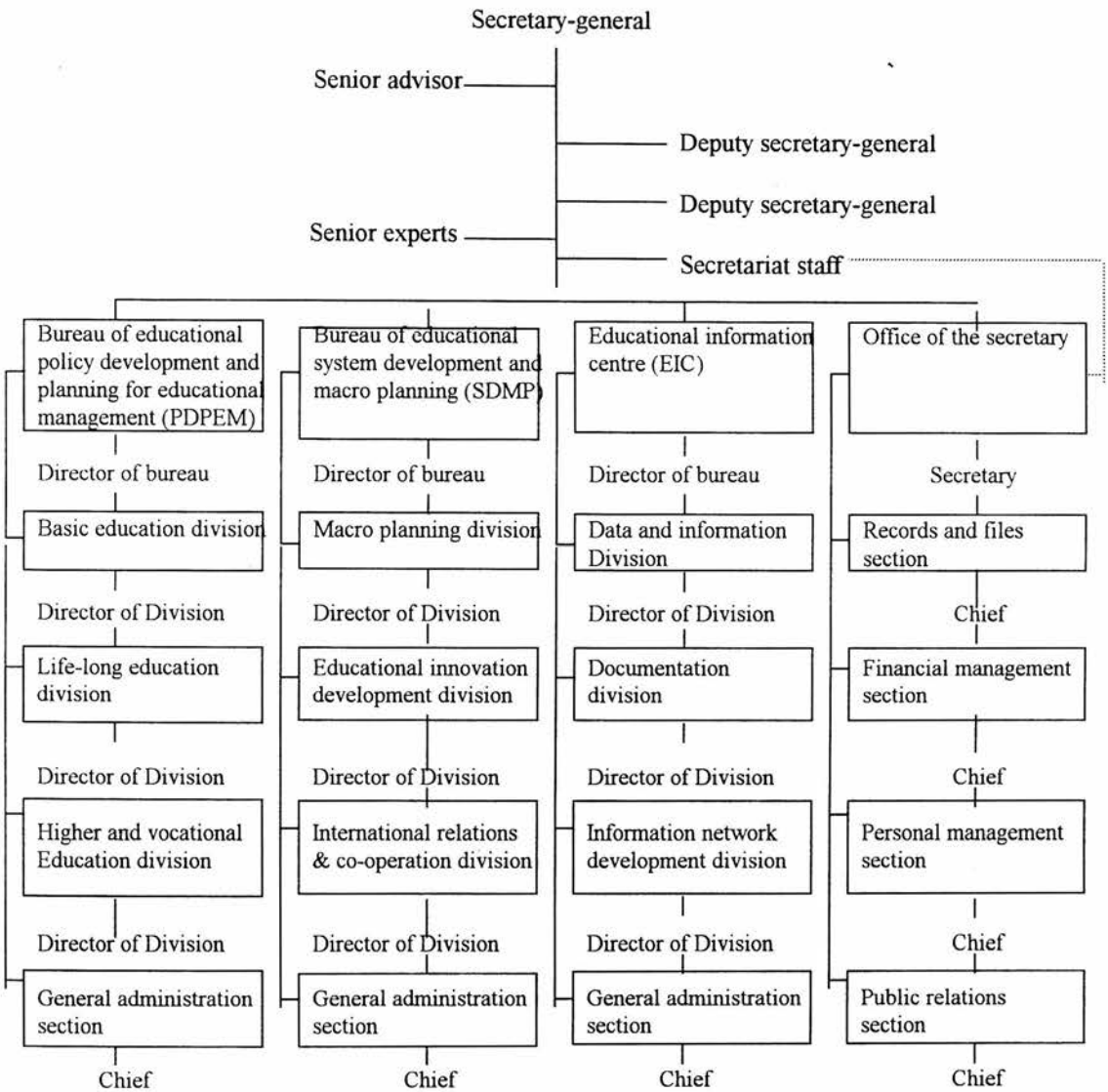
[5] It should be noted that at this national level there is no representative from private schools.

From consideration of this large number of supervising commissioners - who are drawn from relevant organisations concerning education and training from all over the country - it can be said that the NEC is a comprehensive national planning authority. It is analogous to an educational umbrella which covers every facet of educational planning all over the country, including the planning of military education and training.

The NEC's proposal for the implementation of national education should, therefore, have a significant bearing on the readiness the cabinet to accept them since those national organisations who are responsible for the implementation of the twelve-year basic education provision are represented on this Board, in particular the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), the National Budget Bureau, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

With all these high ranking officials who are relevant to the implementation of educational reform throughout the country the national education plans proposed by the NEC should be authoritative, especially as it is provided with significant offices as shown in the following organisational structure:

Figure 4: Organisational structure of NEC



Source: ONEC, 1995

The NEC is equipped with three significant offices headed by a secretary-general and two deputies entrusted to serve as the arms of the Board. Their tasks are educational data collection, research, analysis and evaluation of planning, with the special job of serving as co-ordinators and convenors with other implementing agencies for national planning of the twelve-year basic education reform, as follows:-

1. The Bureau of Educational Policy Development and Planning for Educational Management (PDPEM)

The PDPEM is in charge of studying, analysing and conducting research on the problems and current status of education as a basis for formulating and developing national education policies and plans for all levels and types of education. A major role of the PDPEM is proposing policy guidelines and recommendations for educational development. It also performs the tasks of monitoring and evaluating plan and project implementations in accordance with the overall national scheme of education (ONEC, 1995).

2. The Bureau of Educational – System Development and Macro Planning (SDMP)

The SDMP is responsible for the policy and macro planning of the educational system as a whole. To this end, the Bureau is engaged in research development concerning education and its social context, educational motivation, and technical aspects of policy and plan formulation. The SDMP also functions as a co-ordinator for the formulation of the national scheme of education and the national education development plan at the macro level as well as short-term and long-term plans.

As for international relations, the SDMP plays an active role in international co-operation to improve educational development. Its major activities include co-operation and co-ordination with international organisations through conferences, educational co-operation projects, research studies and exchange programs. It also conducts comparative education studies and provides educational information for international exchange and co-operation (ONEC, 1995).

3. The Educational Information Centre (EIC)

A major role of the EIC is to co-ordinate the development of information systems for educational planning and policy formulation. This includes statistical information and documentation. The task of the EIC includes the development of data issue management systems and information networking. In order to obtain an effective information system at the national level, the EIC conducts projects to develop a standard in data collection, which include statistical report forms and computer software to facilitate data entry and information retrieval (ONEC, 1995).

The EIC is the core of the NEC and stores educational data from all over the country for planning purposes. These up-to-date data for planning are derived and established as a result of regular, urgent or casual meetings convened from the centre with all the relevant implementing organisations at appropriate lower levels, especially at the operational levels of the municipal schools run by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the public schools in the urban and rural areas belonging to the Ministry of Education. The EIC serves as a significant co-ordinator within and outside the NEC to maintain a valid and reliable data bank for educational planning (ONEC, 1995).

Regarding the structure of the NEC, it is what is described by theorists, such as Cleland and King (1975), Bush (1986), Ducan (1979) and Rondinelli (1990; 1993), as a divisional structure organisation. This is because the NEC is equipped with three major divisions: the PDPEM, the SDMP, and the EIC, enabling the NEC to manage its own tasks within its own existing structure. Interestingly, in practice the actual operation appears differently.

> The meetings organised by this centre or by other offices of NEC are conducted in an atmosphere of a round-table get-together. No one is superior to the other. It is the centre for exchange of information. The directives, the requirements and the policies from the Board of the National Education Commissioner were the main guidelines for formulating agenda items to be discussed and responded to in the meeting (Chantavanich, A. (1996), the deputy secretary-general of the NEC, Personal Interviews at the NEC during the early session of data collection in October 1996).

It should be noted here that tasks are carried out with joint contributions and co-operation from the lower levels of the implementing agencies under the instructions of their heads who are represented on the Board. The deliberations from the meetings of the lower levels are evaluated and analysed on the basis of personal judgements made by the convenors. The value of the discussions in the meetings and the outcome of the deliberations depend on the competence and shrewdness of the convenors.

> The representatives from these lower levels may come to the meetings as if they are on secondary duty or as a part time job without any real responsibility on their parts. They attend the meetings to present facts and no official opinions are given. Decisions might have to be made and have to be referred back to the offices they represent. They consider the convenors as co-workers, not as their direct heads who may be in a position to reward or punish them on the merits of their performance in the meetings (Author's field note based on an observation at NEC, during the early session of data collection in October 1996).

The inescapable conclusion which emerges from the observations of October 1996 is that the NEC, a staff authority, is subordinate to the Office of the Prime Minister which is the real body setting and determining national educational policy which in turn, derives from the final outcome by the Council of Ministers in conjunction with the Board as set out in the newly revised constitution introduced in October 1997.

This supports the common view that there is a weakness in every organisation which has a "staff" function. The reason for that is that every organisation which is set up to function as a "staff" organ has no authoritative power over the implementing agencies (Rondinelli et al, 1990).

However, under section 43 of the revised constitution, the state is required to provide a sufficient, free and quality basic education of not less than twelve years for the entire school age population (Thailand, 1997). It will be the first time in Thai history that twelve-year basic education will be enacted as a national education plan. To be brought into force it needs to go through a legislative procedure and to be approved by the House of Parliament. Formerly all previous national education plans were simply approved by resolution of the Council of Ministers. They could subsequently be altered easily at latter meetings of the Council of Ministers. This is likely to strengthen the performing task of NEC.

It is important to point out the fact that any national plan without legislative enactment has no legal force and therefore if the plan fails, there is no legal liability on the part of the implementing authorities and they cannot be punished or disciplined. Significantly, with the enactment of this new national education reform plan, any alteration or change to it needs to go through a legislative procedure and to be approved by the Houses of Parliament. Also failure of the plan must be accounted for and may be judged by a public enquiry under section 170 of the new constitution (Thailand, 1997).

When the new National Education Act is introduced, it will be the responsibility of the two major implementing agencies, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs, to carry out the task. The question may be posed as to why the twelve-year basic education scheme should be the responsibility of two ministries. The Ministry of Education alone should be enough. [The historic background and the related tasks that link the control of primary schooling to the Ministry of Interior Affairs has already been discussed in the earlier part in this section.]

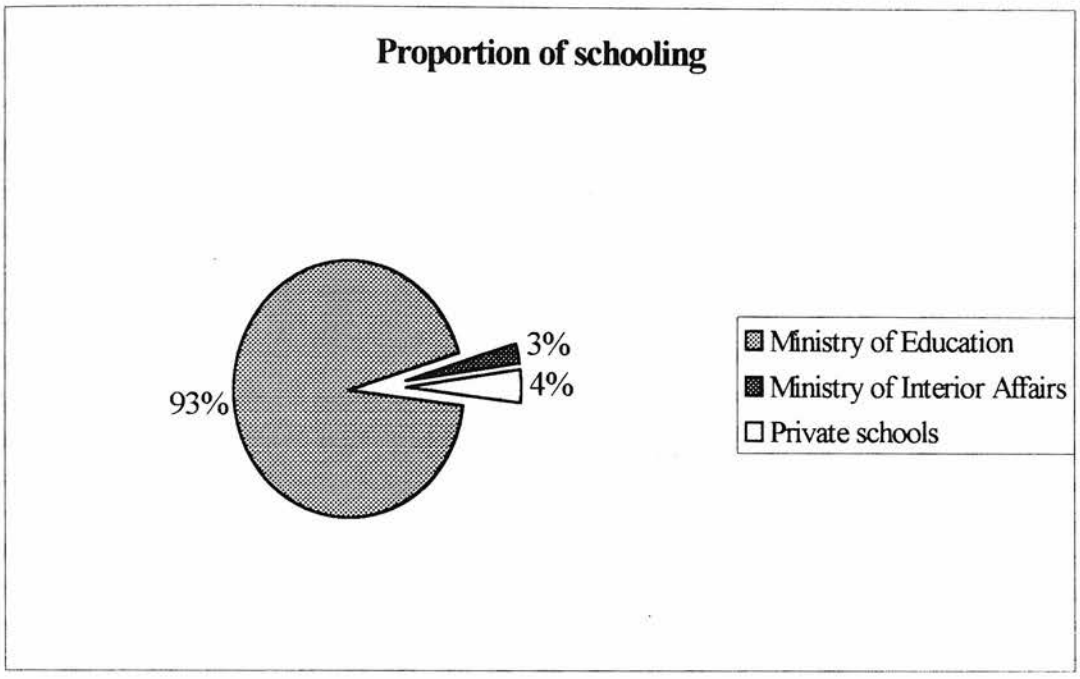
What has been discussed above concerns only education by public schools owned and run by the state. Private schools owned and run by the private sector either by local people or foreigners largely of Christian faiths have not been mentioned. In order to make a comprehensive account of educational administration in Thailand, the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC), reporting to the Ministry of Education, should be examined. The OPEC is the sole authority in the country controlling all private schools teaching pre-primary, primary, lower and upper secondary and vocational education.

Table 1: Numbers of schools providing formal education by educational level

	Primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Vocational education	**Total**
Ministry of Education					
Bangkok	475	140	118	25	758
Provinces	32,293	5,521	1,252	317	39,383
Ministry of Interior Affairs					
Bangkok	419	16	0	0	435
Provinces	478	74	0	0	552
Private Schools					
Bangkok	440	178	38	91	747
Provinces	1,002	381	109	76	1,568
Total	35,107	6,310	1,517	509	43,443

Source: The Ministry of Education, Bureau of Education, Religious and Cultural Policy and Planning, 1994: pages 76 and 78

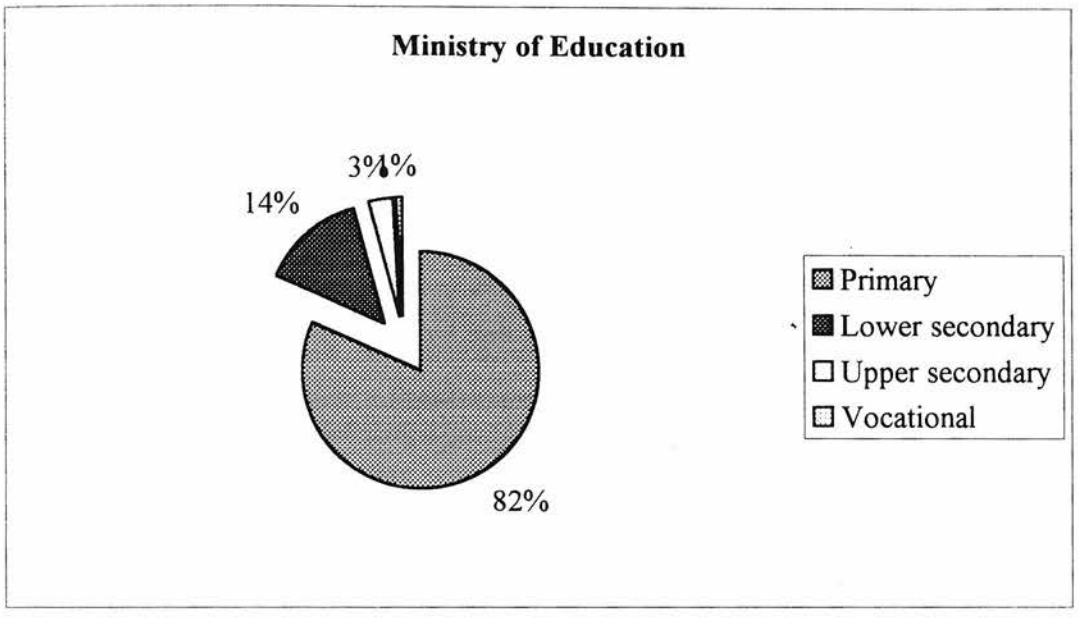
Chart 1: Overall percentage of schooling provided by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the private sector in Thailand in 1994.



Source: computerised from Table 1

Schooling in Thailand, we have already explained above, is provided the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs as well as by the private sector. As shown in Chart 1, in 1994 the MOE managed 758 schools in Bangkok and 39,383 in the provinces, while the MOIA managed 435 and 552 schools and the private sector 747 and 1,568 respectively. The MOE is, therefore, the principal agency responsible for the provision of education since its share is 93%, against 3% for the MOIA and 4% for the private sector. It is important to point out that although educational provision is the responsibility of the government because it has greater resources to supply schooling and staff, the state should have financial gain if it increases proportion of private schooling parallel to public schooling. The role private participation and its willingness to expanded its facilities for 12-year basic educational provision needs to be investigated. The details of this will be seen in Chapter 5.

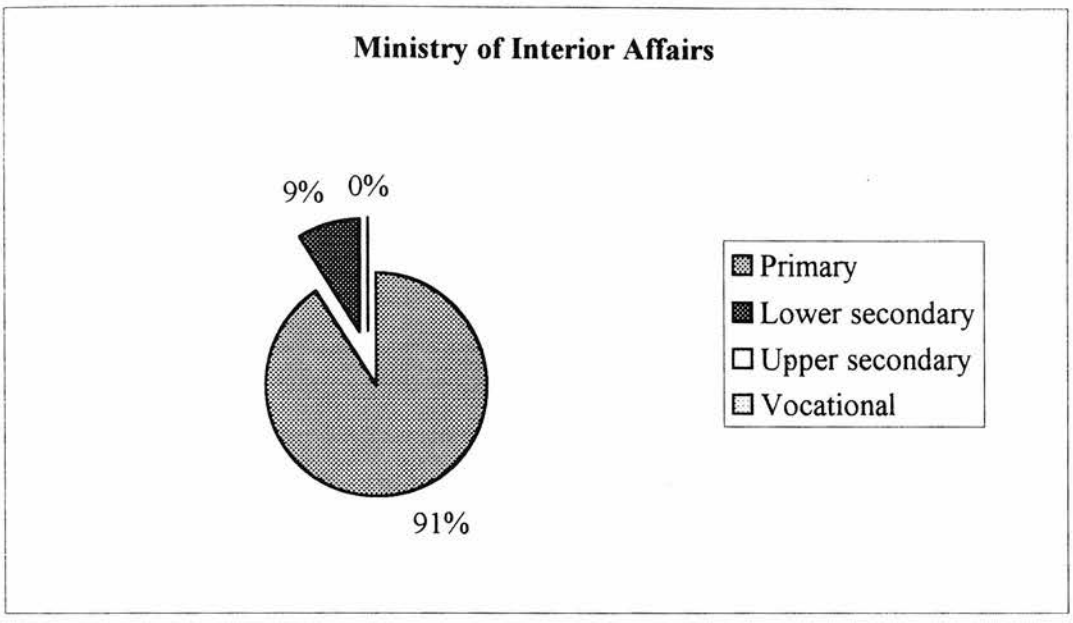
Chart 2: The Ministry of Education's schooling provision by educational level in 1994



Source: computerised from Table 1

Chart 2 shows the provision of education supplied by the Ministry of Education in 1994 broken down into its component parts. It consisted of 758 schools in Bangkok and 39,383 in the provinces. In the former area 475 of these institutions were at primary level, 140 at lower secondary, 118 at upper secondary and 25 at vocational level. In the latter the totals were 32,293, 5,521, 1252 and 317 respectively. Combining the two areas, the overall ratios of the Ministry of Education provision were 82% at primary level, 14% at lower secondary level, 3% at upper secondary level and 1% at vocational level.

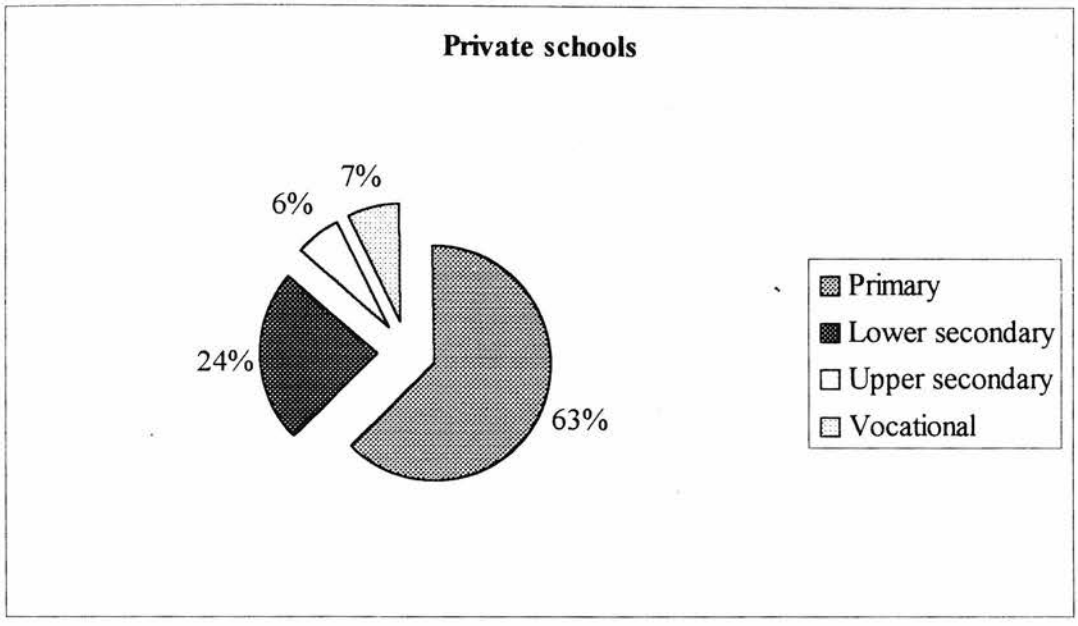
Chart 3: The Ministry of Interior Affairs's schooling provision by educational level in 1994



Source: computerised from Table 1

Chart 3 shows the ratio of schooling provision by educational level within the Ministry of Interior Affairs. In 1994 the MOIA provided primary education in 419 schools in Bangkok and 478 schools in the provinces, lower secondary education in 16 and 74 schools respectively. It offered no upper secondary nor vocational education. Primary schools as a whole made up 91% of the MOIA's total, while lower secondary schools comprised the other 9%. With a view to supporting the 12-year basic education, Bangkok Governor, Bhichit Rattakul, stated in 1997 that 54 schools had been operating a 9-year schooling programme (cited in Kongrut, 1997). According to the director of the city's education department, Charupong Ruansuwan, 63 schools were expected to be operating the full 12-year schooling programme by the end of 1998 (cited in Kongrut, 1997); however, as of December 1998, this had not yet occurred in any of them.

Chart 4: The private sector's schooling provision by educational level in 1994



Source: computerised from Table 1

Chart 4 illustrates the ratio of educational level provision within the combined total of private sector schools in 1994. This total included 440 primary schools, 178 lower secondary schools, 38 upper secondary schools and 91 vocational schools in Bangkok, while in the provinces the figures were 1002, 381, 109 and 76 respectively. This produces overall proportions of 63% at primary, 24% at lower secondary, 6% at upper secondary and 7% at vocational level within the private sector provision.

All private schools and institutions mentioned are subject to the *Private School Act of 1982*, and are under the control of OPEC, reporting to the MOE, except for the private institutions, colleges and universities operating under the Ministry of University Affairs according to the University Act.

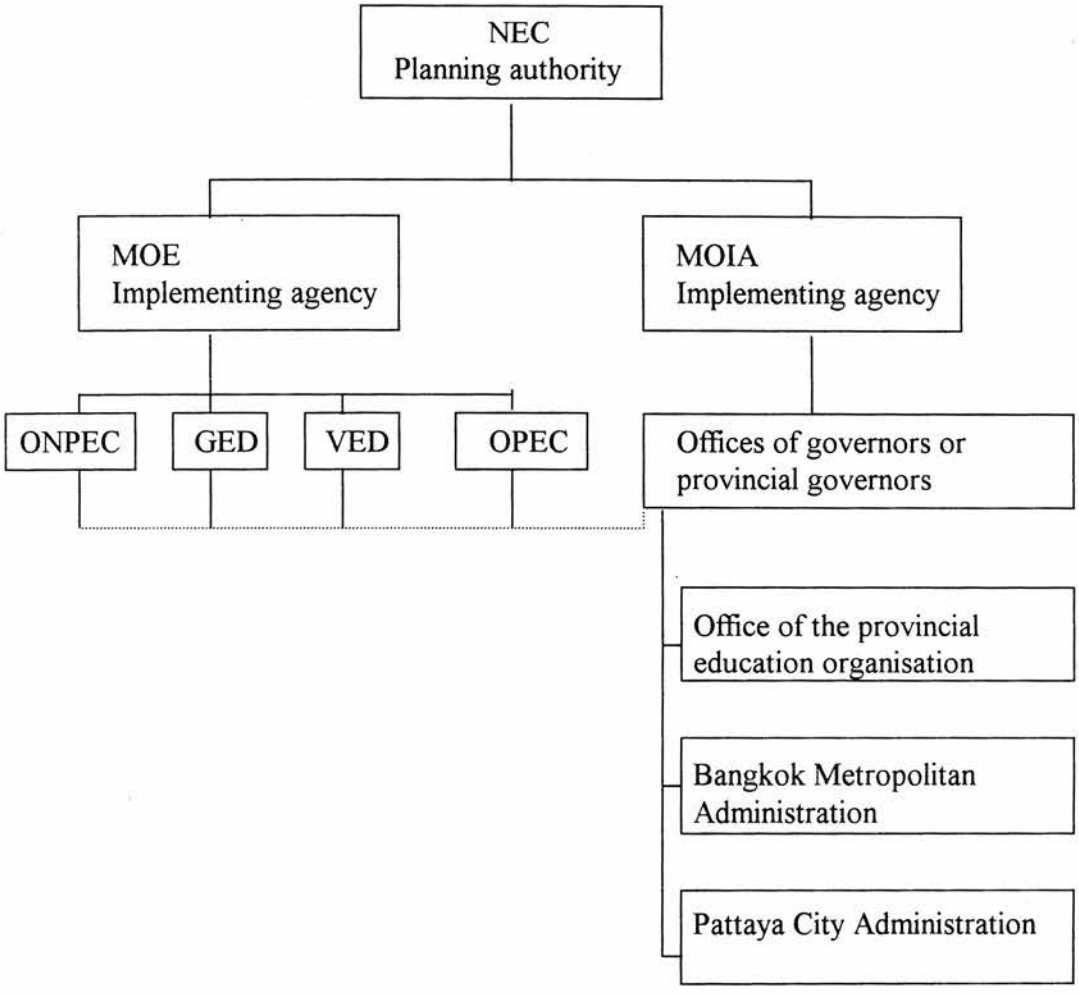
Under section 15 of the *Private School Act* (MOE, 1982a), private schools are divided into three types as follows:

1. *Formal schools* consisting of schools providing
   1.1 General education: pre-primary, primary, lower and upper secondary levels.
   1.2 Vocational education: lower certificate level (3 years) after lower secondary education and higher certificate
   (2 years)
2. *Non-formal schools* consisting of schools providing different curricula to suit community requirements, normally short courses for part-time study such as business and technical skill subjects, dressmaking and health care.
3. *Special and welfare schools* for the under-privileged and children with disabilities.

(Non-formal and special and welfare education are not included in this study)

To give the full picture of the administrative machinery of the existing basic education, the following is delineated.

Figure 5: the administrative machinery of the existing basic education



From the above figure 5, the NEC is the only co-ordinating organisation that directly and formally links the two implementing agencies (MOE and MOIA) together through representatives on the Broad of National Education Commissioners which supervises the NEC. There are also direct or formal links established through the implementation levels of the MOE with those under the MOIA through the offices of governors or provincial governors as depicted in the dotted line in the above figure. These are over and above the formal and direct communication which exists between the MOE and the MOIA.

The MOE has four major offices dealing with educational provision. The ONPEC is primarily responsible for the majority of state schools providing six years of primary education; and in order to support the 12-year basic educational programme some of the ONPEC's schools have expanded their facilities for providing lower secondary education. The GED is responsible for most state schools providing lower and upper secondary education whereas the VED is responsible for all state schools providing vocational education. The OPEC does not run or own any schools, but supervises all private schools throughout the country. The MOIA has offices of governors dealing with state schools in municipal areas in the provinces, except for those under the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and those under the Pattaya City Administration.

However, there is no formal or regular communication among the school operators and administrative staff in the MOE nor among those in the MOIA, except social or annual functions organised by the National Teachers Council. Like all state bureaucratic administration, it has been mainly one-way communication from top to bottom throughout the whole educational administration set-up. The free flow of communications from bottom to top does not seem to exist in the formal approach, especially for the level of the schools themselves.

This may be the weakness of the present educational administrative system: The linkage of the whole operation with the bottom layer of the schooling system – that is to say, with the schools themselves may present problems. The co-operation of the operating and administrative staff with their schools and between those in the MOE and in the MOIA cannot be overlooked, since Greenfield and Robbins (1993) point out that this is a matter of human interaction. They are the people who really know the facts and are directly involved in face-to-face situations. Rondinelli et al (1990; 1993) suggest adjusting the degree of administrative centralisation and decentralisation. By combining the advantages of these two above observations, therefore, the bridging of this non-communication between school level and the national level may make it possible to adjust the relationship between centralisation

and decentralisation. It could, for instance, be narrowed down by the establishment of a national association of parents and teachers.

At present parent and teacher associations already exist in both public and private schools to establish contact between parents and teachers in each particular school and to jointly solve the problems of the schoolchildren. The author's experience in managing private primary and vocational schools shows that the problems of children, parents and teachers in one school may be similar to those problems experienced by others. If these existing parents and teachers associations in each school could link together at district, provincial and regional levels, their problems might be solved at a higher level with a helping hand from the state. This makes relevant the phenomenological ideas of Greenfield and Robbins (1993).

Concurrent with the existence of combined parent and teacher associations at district, provincial and regional levels, certain phenomena, norms and hypotheses may unfold with the formal establishment of a national association of parents and teachers in Thailand. These phenomena, norms and hypotheses (to be formulated at the outset of the get together of a national association) would then be useful for educational planning and problem solving for both the planning and implementing agencies.

To strengthen the idea of Greenfield and Robbins (1993) which focuses on "de facto", but lacks "de jure" or authoritative power, it may be necessary to add this association to the structure of the NEC. This would give it authoritative power. It is, therefore, to be recommended that a national association of parents and teachers be established to bridge the communication gap with the schools, both public and private, with branches in each district, province and region, which should be assisted by the National Teacher Council reporting to the Ministry of Education.

It is, therefore, important that the establishment of such a national association of parents and teachers should become state policy which the NEC ought to support for its own benefit. It might serve as a significant face-to-face source of educational data required by NEC planning and follow-up if a national association of parents and teachers will be established as a permanent adviser and consultant to the Board of the NEC. With this national association on the Board as a permanent adviser and consultant monitoring performance at the school level, information from private schools to be inputted into the national education plan from the bottom up, which is presently lacking in the NEC, will be strengthened.

Capacity of the existing administrative set-up to respond to changes arising from future education reform

So far the structure of the education administrative set-up and the relationship between its parts have been discussed, but its capacity has not been examined.

At the moment in 1999, in the Ministry of Education there are three agencies [the General Education Department (GED), the Office of National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) and the Vocational Education Department (VED)], which are responsible for the provision and operation of the twelve–year basic education in the public schools under their jurisdiction once the enabling legislation is passed.

It should also be noted that in the Ministry of Education there are several departments that participate in educational organisation. These are presented in Table 2 next page, together with types of school and areas in which they have responsibility.

Table 2: Agencies involved in basic education provision

Agencies	Types	Areas of operation
Ministry of Education		
Office of the National Primary Education Commission	State primary/ lower-secondary schools	Urban and rural
Department of General Education	State special education schools and welfare schools, State secondary schools.	Urban and rural
Teacher Training Department	Demonstration schools	Urban and rural
Office of the Private Education Commission	Private primary/ secondary, vocational schools	Urban and rural
Department of Vocational Education	State vocational and technical schools	Urban and rural
Ministry of Interior Affairs		
Border Patrol Police Headquarters	State primary/ lower-secondary schools	Border area
Local administration, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration through The Office of Local Elementary Education	State primary/ lower-secondary schools	Bangkok, Pattaya City, municipal areas
Ministry of University Affairs		Urban and rural
University	University 's primary/ Secondary demonstration schools	

In principle if compulsory education is expanded from six–year primary education to twelve years, the ONPEC would be assigned to assist the GED to expand the basic education provision into lower secondary schools. Therefore, the ONPEC at the moment serves as an auxiliary body to the GED which is not, however, the authoritative body responsible for the implementation of a twelve-year basic education.

Although it is clear from the resolution of the Council of Ministers in August 1996 (MOE, 1996) where the demarcation of responsibility of the above two implementing agencies, which are the MOE and the MOIA, lies the name of OPEC has not yet been changed to what we may be called "ONBEC" (Office of National Basic Education Commission) nor have the two agencies shown any sign of amalgamating into one. The two agencies are responsible for the same job of providing a twelve-year basic education to the public yet OPEC is auxiliary to GED. It seems, therefore, logical and sensible that the ONPEC should unite with the GED so that the co-ordination and co-operation between the two agencies can be improved thereby rendering better service to the public schools.

As to the position of the municipal schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, especially Bangkok and Pattaya City, there should be no transfer of these schools to the Ministry of Education because of the principle of municipal self-government (MOE, 1996). As is clear from the above discussions, twelve-year basic education reform falls within the current mission and functions of the two implementing agencies (MOE and MOIA). The existing staff of each agency are sufficient and capable of undertaking the additional workload of the reform plan.

> The Teacher Training Department (now the Office of Rajapat Institutes Council) is capable of producing the number of teachers required during the education reform. It is in a position to improve the quality of teachers and to conform to the new curricula to be approved by the Curricula and Education Innovation Department so that the new curricula will meet the demand and changes of globalisation (Author's field note based on a personal interview with the Director-General of the Curricula and Education Innovation Department, Chantavanich, A. in September 1997).

The departments and agencies in the two ministries have been given clear authority and jurisdiction in their spheres of administration and management, especially regarding the division of responsibility for sources of finance needed for the provision and administration of schooling between the local municipal governments in the provinces and the ONPEC which has to work with the Department of General Education which controls the lower and upper secondary education levels.

As noted above, the current divisions of responsibility between the two implementing agencies, may be seen as suitable for the needs and requirements of education reform. In the past the existing education machinery was capable of carrying out the national task. It is to be expected that the same organisational agencies would be capable of carrying out the additional workload of the new reform plan since the task is within their jurisdiction and is not a new type of work. The agencies are already familiar with what is required. In 1999, the secretary-general of the NEC, Rung, and the chairman for a formulation of the National Education Act, Vichai, argue that these organisations dealing with the 12-year basic educational provision need no restructuring (Rung, 1999; Vichai, 1999). There would, therefore, be no difficulty nor opposition from the staff, in assuming this additional responsibility.

All of the above has concerned the system of Thai education: the historical overview of educational development, the present educational system and the administrative machinery of education in Thailand. In Chapter 3, theories of educational management will be discussed, with the intention of shedding further light on the Contingency Approach.

Chapter 3: The Contingency Approach: towards an appropriate theory

Educational provision and management have been a challenge for practitioners and educationists for nearly half a century. It has been a crucial problem for some member states of the United Nations to achieve the goal of "education for all" targeted for the year 2000. Many have tried but not all that many will succeed (Bray, 1981; WCEFA, 1990a; b; King and Singh, 1993).

Between the year 1950 and 1975 in many developing countries including Thailand, centralised management of their educational development was the norm. During this period, most educational development plans resulted in unsatisfactory outcomes (Wheeler, Raudenbush and Pasigna, 1989). The general assumption is that one of the causes of this failure was probably poor quality management, especially in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Chowdhury and Kirkpatrick (1994) noted that the two most significant reasons for failure were the limitation of theory during the 1960s, and the ambiguous and unidentified expectations of dynamic change in those developing countries, especially those newly industrialising countries.

Since this study focuses on Thailand's educational provision, in particular on the expansion of statutory basic education from six to twelve years, it will investigate the ways and means of achieving this. A question remains as to what kind of knowledge, theories, and models can provide the most rational approach to this research. This issue will be discussed in this chapter which comprises two parts:

Part one: theories of educational management

Part two: how the Contingency Approach is to be modified to fit the research

In part one theories of educational management are reviewed, especially those models whose terminology is analysed by Bush (1986). They are used as a basis for the explanation of the Contingency Approach which synthesises all five of Bush's perspectives: formal, democratic, political, subjective and ambiguous. The Contingency Approach provides a wide range of management concepts for designing a unique management arrangement for projects of differing levels of innovation. These, it will be argued, are specifically relevant for Thailand' educational administration.

Followed by three types of model (Technicist, Consensual and Political) which are categorised by Adams (1988) and the discussion of the Contingency theory by Rondinelli, Middleton and Verspoor (1987; 1990). The Contingency theory, which was developed latter, can be one of the political models in Adams' category. It is found to be more suitable for the planning of current educational reform in Thailand which is characterised by its relatively high sensitivity to environmental conditions, as already mentioned in chapters one and two.

In part two, the Contingency Approach, plus an adaptation for use with this research, will be discussed. This Contingency Approach in its original form. This is followed by an account of in-depth research using a revised form of the Contingency Approach which is more manageable and more productive and it is used in this study.

Part 1: Theories of educational management

Many educational writers have tried to give a summary of all the theories of educational management. Some consider that education requires special treatment since it is "subjective" knowledge which is being presented to their readers and not an "objective" product. When it comes to the notion of subjectivity and objectivity, endless controversy arises and becomes even more debatable when a third factor, environmental aspects, comes into play.

The word "management", referred to by the educational theorists and writers, is a loose term that covers a multitude of ideas and activities representing considerable differences of view between various groups within the same profession. Some of these divisions are the result of different approaches among and between theorists, who argue that practice cannot be properly understood unless set within the explanatory context of some theory; other practitioners argue that abstract theories are largely irrelevant to the hustle and bustle of administrative work.

The differences occur because theoreticians owe allegiance to differing disciplines, such as Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy, History or the Political Sciences (Greenfield and Robbins, 1993), or to differing orientations within these disciplines: Classical Theory, Functionalist Theory, Behaviourism, Marxism, Human Relations Theory or Phenomenology. Still more differences occur among practitioners who face a diversity of economic, political, social and psychological problems relating to the differing contexts of their activities.

Bates sees the division and diversity in the field of educational administration as "being healthy" (Bates, 1983: 55). He agrees that "such diversity can be regarded as a sign of vitality within a complex professional area. It encourages debate and innovation" (Bates, 1983: 55). By contrast, Griffiths argues that many educational theorists have attempted to construct highly abstract and formally elaborate theories in an effort to overcome the non-theoretical, anti-intellectualism of the times. He argues that

> while it was good fun it was not helpful. In fact it might even be harmful to people being led to believe we were much farther along than we actually were. There is a far too much talk about theory and far too little doing of theory (Griffiths, 1977: 102).

One might agree with Griffiths' criticism that the debates among educationists and writers are not only confusing but rather futile. Indeed these writers are expanding upon similar issues in perhaps only slightly different ways.

For instance, in the United States, the view of positivism and post-positivism is predominant whereas in countries in the British Commonwealth (UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) educational theorists tend to oppose positivist theory and support alternative approaches. At the one end of a continuum is the belief that the effort to study administration and organisational life through behavioural science is supportable, and at the other end of a continuum are found the supporters of Traditional, Positivist, Post-positivist theories (Bates, 1982; Greenfield, 1975). The critiques which emerged between 1970 and 1980 were highly emotional. Griffiths criticised the works of Bates (1982) and Greenfield (1975) considered that the advocates of traditional theory [probably not the post-positivist] to be unacceptable (Griffiths, 1983).

In addition many writers[1] construct their theories by overlapping several different dimensions. Similar models are given different names, while the same terms are used to denote different approaches. For example, Bolman and Deal (1984) discuss three common-sense perspectives in seeking to analyse the nature of organisations. They choose to highlight the personalistic, rational and power perspectives.

Theodossin (1982; 1983) explains educational management in terms of four perspectives - the environment, organisational structure, group interaction and the individual. Ellstrom (1983) suggests four organisational models as ways of characterising schools and colleges - rational, political, social system and anarchistic. Cuthbert (1984) presents five models in seeking to describe the management of further and higher education. He emphasises analytical-rational, pragmatic-rational, political, ambiguous and phenomenological models. Sergiovanni (1984) discusses four perspectives based on efficiency, the person, politics and cultural view.

Each of the above writers touches on more or less the same thing by using a different terminology revolving around the three basic principles of management: personality, organisation and environment. The exception is Cuthbert (1984) who introduces "ambiguity" as a distinct model. This model of ambiguity is significant since the Contingency Approach may be seen to concur with this model because it emphasises uncertainty. Before the position of the Contingency Approach can be visualised, terminology must be clarified.

[1] It is a fact that many Thai scholars have written on educational management; however none have contributed new theories, models and paradigms to this field.

The emphasis in models and perceptions of educational management theory is based on the categories employed by Bush in 1986. The component parts of the Contingency Approach will be explained side by side with the relevant perspectives presented, in order to explain that the Contingency Approach is a synthesised model that integrates all five perspectives presented by Bush (1986) using four criteria (goals, structure, environment and leadership) to differentiate five perspectives, as follows:

1. Formal
2. Democratic
3. Political
4. Subjective
5. Ambiguous

*1. **Formal models:*** these stress the official and structural elements of organisations:

> Formal models assume that organisations are hierarchical systems in which managers use rational means to pursue agreed goals. Heads possess authority legitimised by their formal positions within the organisations and are accountable to sponsoring bodies for the activities of their institutions (Bush 1986: 24).

This definition fits very well with the Thai educational management system not only in government agencies, offices, departments and schools but also in the private school sector. They tend to be bureaucratic (Wheeler, Raudenbush and Pasigna, 1989) and to exercise their prerogative power in the process of management depending on the types of leadership. (The details of Thailand's educational management have already been discussed in chapter 2 part 3.)

> Contingency management provides a framework which assists project planners in identifying the tasks for which these new approaches are appropriate, as well as those where strengthened forms of traditional management are needed (Rondinelli, et al., 1987: XII).

The formal models suggested by Bush have many common features: 1) organisations as systems, 2) official structures of organisations, 3) hierarchical structure, 4) goal seeking organisation, 5) rational process by sticking to goal and objectives, 6) authority of leaders and 7) accountability of the organisation (Bush, 1986).

The Contingency Approach provides a set of management alternatives ranging from dealing with tasks of a high level of certainty to tasks of a low level of certainty depending on the degree of innovation (Rondinelli et al, 1987; 1990). This means that in dealing with situations in a stable environment, the formal approach of management (mechanistic) is appropriate.

*2. **Democratic models:*** Bush suggests the following definition:

> Democratic models assume that organisations determine policy through a process of discussion leading to consensus. Power is shared among some or all members of the organisation who are thought to have a mutual understanding about the objectives of the institution (Bush, 1986: 48).

Therefore, the notion of democracy (Consensus) accords with the core of the Contingency Approach which uses the terminology of adaptivity to denote the understanding and the consensus of the participants in problem solving.

> In adaptive management, authority is seen as a collegial relationship, based on interaction, discussion and acceptance by the organisation's members. It usually has an informal base, and is subjective rather than rationalistic This type of authority and leadership is subordinate - centred rather than boss - centred, and leaves a great deal of freedom to members of the organisation to participate in decision-making, or discretion to make decision within broad limits set by higher levels of authority (Rondinelli, et al., 1987: 43).

The main features of the democratic models ought to be based that it is: 1) strongly normative in the sense that management ought to based on agreement, 2) professional in its staff, 3) authoritative in its expertise, and 4) representative within various decision-making bodies.

The "Democratic models" also assume a common set of values, and decisions which may be reached by a process of consensus or compromise rather than division or conflict. In higher education this type of model is called the "Collegial model".

*3. **Political models:*** The next perspective is conceived by Bush as a bargaining process, since the definition suggests that:

> political models assume that in organisations policy and decisions emerge through a process of negotiation and bargaining. Interest groups develop and form alliances in pursuit of particular policy objectives. Conflict is viewed a natural phenomenon and power accrues to dominant coalitions rather than being the preserve of formal leaders (Bush, 1986: 68).

The notion of negotiation and bargaining which is the essence of the political models mentioned above are embraced in the concept of adaptive management strategies in the Contingency Approach. Studies of education projects in both Western and developing countries Rondinelli et al conclude that reforms are most successfully implemented in an adaptive manner (1987; 1990; 1993), that is to say, when broad guidelines from central government are refined and modified at the local level after discussion, negotiation, bargaining and compromise both before and during implementation. The concept of adaptivity through compromise, negotiation and bargaining is among the management strategies to be employed in "adaptive management." These are borrowed from Berman and McLaughlin (1978), Ickis (1981), Miles (1984), and Brinkerhoff and Klauss (1985).

The Political models possess many major features (Bush 1986: 48):

1. group activity
2. concern with interests or interest groups
3. conflict as a normal feature of organisations
4. goals being unstable, ambiguous and contested
5. discussions made or emerging after a complex process of bargaining and negotiation
6. decision-making depending on who has greater power
7. external influence on internal decision-making
8. stress on the distribution of resource.

*4. **Subjective models***: these incorporate those approaches which focus on individuals within organisations rather than on the total institution or its sub units. These models have become prominent in educational management as a result of the work of Thomas Greenfield in the 1970s. The following definition captures the main elements of these approaches:

> Subjective models assume that organisations are the creation of people within them. Participants are thought to interpret situations in different ways and these individual perceptions are derived from their background and values. Organisations have different meanings for each of their members and exist only in the experience of those members (Bush, 1986: 89).

The significance of participants mentioned above is stressed by individual interpretations of 1) socio-economic and political uncertainty, 2) the organisation environment and 3) the predictability of the outcome of the new task (innovation). The accurate assessment of this uncertainty and environment depends on the subjective experience, background and values of the participants involved (Rondinelli, et al. 1987: 25, 32, 90).

The main features of these subjective models are:

1. the individual as the central figure not the institution
2. concern with meanings and interpretations of the phenomenon
3. interpretation of meaning from background, experience and values
4. treatment of structures as a product of human interaction rather than something which is fixed or predetermined

(Bush, 1986: 90-91).

*5. **Ambiguity models:*** the ambiguity models were initiated by a group of American theorists in the 1970s who were dissatisfied with the explanation of organisational behaviour furnished by the formal models, especially in times of instability and uncertainty. This theory has many supporters; namely, Cohen and March (1974) "Garbage can model", March and Olsen (1976), March (1982), Bell (1980), Weick (1976), Noble and Pym (1970), Enderud (1980) and Cuthbert (1984).

The following definition incorporates the main elements of these approaches:

> Ambiguity models assume that turbulence and unpredictability are dominant features of organisations. There is no clarity over the objectives of institutions and their processes are not properly understood. Participation in policy making is fluid as members opt in or out of decision opportunities (Bush, 1986: 108).

This type of approach is a learning process model which is subject to change. Management strategies have to be changed to ones better suited to new conditions if time permits. In the real world everything changes every day. That things are uncertain may be certain. The notion of unpredictability in this model is taken care of in the implementation phase of the Contingency Approach which employs adaptive management strategies to deal with project management at varying levels.

However, it must be noted that although the Contingency Approach is appropriate in conditions of uncertainty, it does not mean that everything that the Contingency Approach relates to is uncertain. Some things are certain under existing conditions. If the conditions assumed in the planning stage change, new decision making has to be employed.

The approach is called Contingency because the planning of tasks, management systems and organisational structures, is contingent on the economic, social and organisational conditions of the country, on the degree of innovation in the project and on the management style and capacity of implementing organisations (Rondinelli et al, 1987; 1990).

Bush emphasises the need to synthesise the five perspectives into a comprehensive one since each perspective has its own limitations and emphases. No single perspective is complete by itself and each overlaps the others. The Contingency Approach perhaps achieves a synthesis of these five perspectives. "It integrates the results of analytical work on project management and educational change with relevant theory, research and experience" (Rondinelli et al, 1987: IV)

Adams (1988) gives an overview of models of educational planning embracing all facets of the theories of Bush (1986). Adams categorises these theories into two broad concepts of *Interactive* and *Rational*, which stand at the two extremes *Subjective* and *Objective*. (see figure 6)

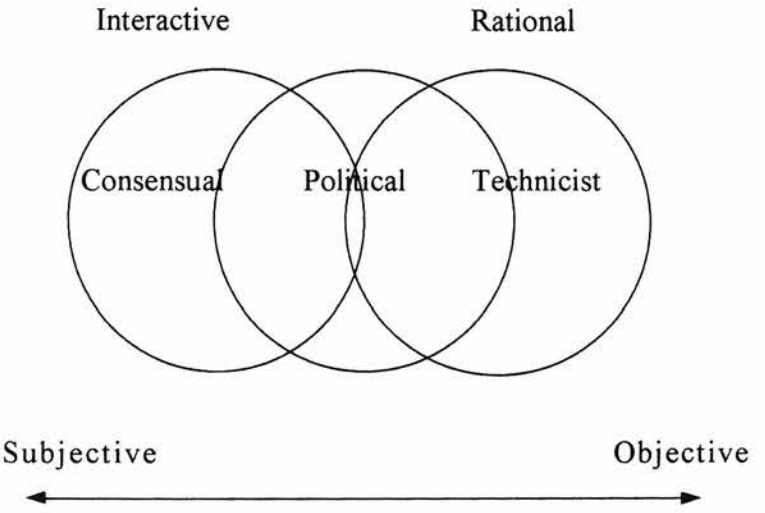


Figure 6: Category of educational planning models: the two paradigms (subjective and objective) of planning borrowed from Burrell and Morgan (1979) showing opposite views of knowledge and approaches.

On the objective extreme lie the *Rational models* which emphasise that knowledge in educational planning is capable of being expressed in terms of scientific process or in algorithmic forms. Adams (1988) labelled this type of Rational models as the Technicist approach. The success of the plan is assumed to be a function of prior planning and specification, the availability of relevant information and administrative competence. At the other end of the subjective extreme, are the *Consensual models*

which recognise education as an open human system in a social environment. These stem from social interaction and are grounded in practice (Friedmann, 1984).

The choices and decisions rest on the people directly involved. Initial goals are not permanently fixed and may change at any time by those involved. The goals are only suggestions and directions to be discussed, modified and replaced over time; it is a social learning model (Adams, 1988). There is perhaps no pure evidence of consensual models of educational planning in practice because it is too idealistic to create absolute consensus among all the groups and individuals involved, many of whom have conflicting interests in the real social world.

In the middle of the two extremes lie the *Political models* which overlap with both the Rational and the Consensual models explained above. They emphasise the bargaining aspect in achieving goals and objectives and are influenced by political power and ideology. They accept partial ideas both from the *Technicist* and the *Consensual* models so long as these are not carried to extremes.

The Contingency Approach can be categorised in one of the models which may be classified under the type of political model categorised by Don Adams. This is because it has both consensual and technicist models. The emphasis on bargaining power in this type of political model is somewhat reduced in the *Contingency* model which is employed in this research. Instead of emphasising bargaining power, the Contingency Approach resorts mainly to adaptive means of understanding to achieve its goals by focusing on the environments of uncertainty and change. It states the need for identifying levels of uncertainty for the design of effective management system. This allows policy planners to deal with both certain and uncertain in educational management. If "bargaining power" in the ideas of Adams is resorted to - there is no conflict of interests and the benefits accrue to the majority of the people instead of a minority group - a friendly strategy of negotiation is applied.

This model integrates all the views of those theorists who are like psychologically blind men touching different parts of an elephant. An integrative approach produces

the best and truest representation of the elephant and is consistent with the Contingency model. This model embraces a series of relevant theories, thoughts and hypotheses as follows:-

- A design of adaptive management approach and planning as set out by Hirschman, 1967.
- An adaptive manner in bargaining and compromise before and during implementation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Ickis, 1981; Crandall, et al, 1983; Miles, 1984; Brinkerhoff and Klauss, 1985.)
- A concept of adaptive management borrowed from the management literature in the private sector as contained in "Strategic Management, Open System Management, and Organisational Development", (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969; Ansoff, 1965; Burke, 1982).
- Environmental uncertainty derives from Paul (1982); Cohen, Grindle and Walker (1985); and Gold (1982).
- A concept of Complexity and Stability in assessing the environment uncertainty is adapted from Ducan (1979).
- A notion of facilitation which is a management strategy deriving from the contributions of Kelman & Warwick (1980) and Beal & Vulbuena (1985).
- A theory of learning by Goldstien (1984), who stated that learning occurs when a person's response to a situation produces a new or changed kind of performance which then becomes a part of his repertoire of behaviour.
- Three key variables in the Contingency theory (management process, organisational structure and staff capacity) borrowed and adapted from Hellriegal and Slocum, (1982), Burns and Stalker, (1961) and Zaltman, Duncan and Holbek (1973).

From the above one can see that the Contingency theory encompasses practically all relevant facets of management theories integrated into a coherent set serving as a firm theoretical basis which shapes my research questions and gives direction and guidance to this study.

Part 2: How the Contingency Approach is modified to fit the research

It has been discussed in the previous section, "Theories of Educational Management", how the Contingency Approach by Rondinelli, et al. (1990) is one form of the Ambiguity perspective referred to by Bush (1986), and how the Contingency Approach is a synthesised model of education reform planning which integrates the essential aspects of five models; namely, Formal, Democratic, Political, Subjective and Ambiguous.

The Contingency Approach has been chosen as a theoretical basis for my research because its operational model is a simple concept and can be presented in a straightforward equation:

Figure 7: Concept of the Contingency Approach

Requirements = Capacity + Adjustment (Management strategies)

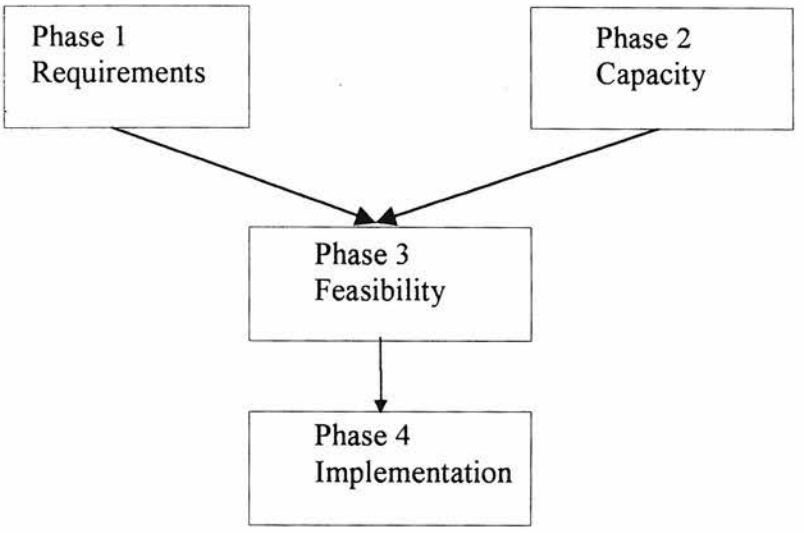
Other models, theories and perspectives of educational management, especially those mentioned by Bush (1986), do not appear to depict the idea clearly in any concrete form that is practical for this research. However, although the Contingency Approach is chosen, it does not mean that every variable has to be assessed in this research since some of them are not significant in my specific research context. Only four factors (Requirements, Capacity, Feasibility and Implementation) are considered, while the notion of environmental uncertainty will add significantly to the research design.

The Contingency Approach in its original and up-to-date form:

The core of the Contingency Approach has four sequential phases in its analysis:

1. Requirements
2. Capacity
3. Feasibility
4. Implementation

Figure 8: The four phases of the Contingency Approach



Source: Rondinelli, et al, 1990: 35

Phase 1 ***Requirements***: in the original and updated form requirements are assessed in terms of the environmental uncertainty, task innovations, management strategy and processes, value orientations and organisational structures, needed for future implementation.

Phase 2 ***Capacity***: this is assessed in terms of the same variables as in phase 1 above applied to the existing implementing organisations and agencies.

Phase 3 ***Feasibility***: this compares the assessment for requirements of the proposed project (phase 1) with that of the capacity of the existing implementing organisations (phase 2) in order to determine the possibility of success of the project (phase 3).

Phase 4 ***Implementation***: this formulates implementation action plans if the "Requirements" and the "Capacity" are compatible or if the "Capacity" is greater than the "Requirements", an appropriate implementation action plan should be drawn up. If the requirements are greater then the capacity, then it requires either the introduction of new organisational development or the scaling down of the projected task, or else a combination of both strategies.

The Contingency Approach in a revised form for my specific empirical research

The Contingency Approach now has to be looked at in a revised form which gives environmental uncertainty a more significant role. Environmental uncertainty encompasses and influences the four phases of the Contingency Approach, as shown in Figure 9.

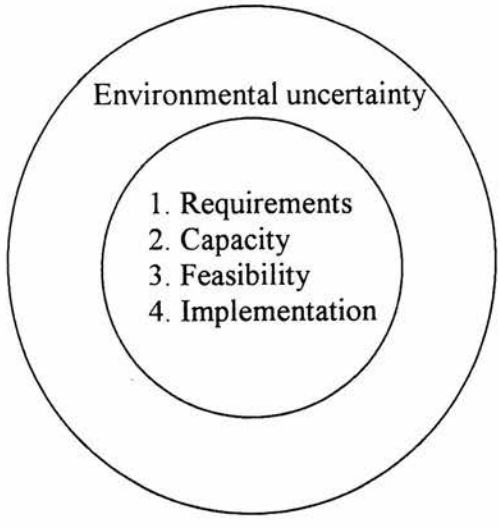


Figure 9: Environmental uncertainty's determination and influence upon the operation of the four phases

This is because the original core concept of the Contingency Approach is designed for dealing with educational reform in developing countries (Rondinelli, Middleton, and Verspoor, 1990). It sees environment in these countries complex – there is an overlapping of social, economic, politic and technological aspects. This environmental aspect may affect the success in educational implementation. Many educational projects have failed because they lacked flexibility and knowledge of environmental uncertainty (Rondinelli et al, 1990). The four phases are always in operation under the influence of a certain set of conditions of environmental uncertainty. If there is a change in any item of this set, the operation of the four phases may be affected. Alternative plans should be prepared to cope with the change. These dynamic plans of action will then be contingent on certain environmental condition and will be valid under specific conditions. It is this aspect of the meaning of "Contingency" which is employed in the Contingency Approach used in this research.

Because the success of an educational reform is relatively to the environmental aspects, it is necessary for the researcher to examine how changes in these aspects are relatively to affect the 12-year basic educational reform. "Environmental uncertainty" includes the political and social-economic conditions of the country and is, therefore, determined and is assessed by the following types of questions recommended by Rondinelli, Middleton and Verspoor, (1990: 37-39):

> Has the top political leadership in the Government and in the Ministry of Education changed frequently in recent years? How long is the present leadership likely to remain in power? Are there well-established and reliable processes for political succession in the country? How strongly has the government supported educational changes or reforms in the past?

The success of an educational formulation and an implementation is relatively significant to an assessment of political and economic environment. This is because the reform needs political commitment from high administrative level which is normally channelled through a political process. It can be in a form of policy, plan, act or law. It is seen necessary for the researcher and planners to examine the degree

of political uncertainty. The questions are guidelines used in the author's field research.

> How diversified is the national economy and to what degree do changes in economic conditions depend on international markets? To what extent does financial support for education depend on national economic conditions? How much financial and political support does the national government give to the education sector? (Rondinelli, Middleton and Verspoor, 1990: 37-39)

Not only these aspects the Contingency Approach is aware of, but also economic aspects. It can be seen in the above questions based on a fact that finance and the capacity are the key in every educational project.

> How many different constituency groups-government agencies, teachers groups, professional associations and parents' groups - can be expected to become involved in education reform policies and programmes? Which groups and organisations within and outside of the government are likely to benefit directly or indirectly from proposed educational changes? Which groups and organisations are likely to oppose the changes that will be promoted by the project? How many different organisations, agencies, or institutions will be involved in implementing the project? How many institutions will have to provide support directly and indirectly in order for the project to be implemented effectively? At how many levels of administration will the project be implemented? (Rondinelli, Middleton and Verspoor, 1990: 37-39)

The other aspects which need to be examined are the relate organisations dealing with the educational reform. Because an educational system concerns many organisations e.g. the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance and private institutions, it needs to understand how educational system has been delivered and what capacity needs for undertaking the new tasks for achieving the objectives. These are tasks for the author to investigate the existing combination of organisational mechanism and its delivery system in Thai education. (The results from documentary research and participant observation for this have been discussed in Chapter 2 part3.)

In this study the four phrases of the original Contingency Approach are maintained, however, it is necessary to point out the contents of my revised four-phase model. It can be explained briefly what in each phrase of the research is going to be carried on, and how it relates to my research questions (laid out in Chapter 4), as follows:

Requirements (phase 1)

Under the revised form of my analysis, the significant variables in the Requirements of the Contingency Approach which need to be identified and assessed are:

1. the numbers of the school age population during the expansion of primary education from six to twelve years
2. the organisational structure of the implementing agencies.

To approach the task it is necessary to examine the education policy in Thailand (the expansion of basic education in beyond the current primary school level) as covered in research question No. 3 appearing in Chapter 4.

The sources of these data are expected to be found from the Office of the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Education, the National Education Commission, the National Economic and Social Development Board and the National Statistical Bureau. From this information, the numbers of existing school children and the total school age population both at present and in future years undergoing compulsory schooling, is subsequently determined, as dealt with in research question No. 6 appearing in chapter 4.

The reliable sources for estimating these numbers come from the demographic analyses made by the National Education Commission, and the National Statistical Bureau. From the figures of past years, the numbers of the future school age population can be projected. With the application of Regression Analysis the future distribution of school children who will have to be accommodated can be extrapolated. (The regression analysis will be discussed in Chapter 4.) If the total number of the school age population which will exist under a system of compulsory education in each particular year can be estimated, the national budgetary allocation required for that particular year can be determined if the educational cost of each level of education is known. This annual budgetary allocation required for the provision of a twelve-year basic education is significant since it is the single most important item in phase 1.

Translating the budgetary allocation into numerical figures is important for comparison with the second phase of Capacity. The ability to convert the Requirements into numerical terms is a major new concept in this phase. Instead of discussing conceptual terms or non-discrete values like those contained in the Contingency Approach in its original form the end result will be vividly and clearly defined and not at all indeterminate.

It may be necessary to review the administrative structure in terms of its strengths and weaknesses by interviewing relevant officials in the implementing organisations. In order to move to a more efficient administrative set-up to cope with the increase in number of school children created by education reform, the future administrative structures are considered in phase 2 (Capacity).

Capacity (phase 2)

The data collection for phase 2 deals with the ability of the state to provide sufficient budgetary allocation for educational expenditure when compulsory basic education is expanded from six to twelve years, and is covered by research question no. 6. This item in phase 2 presents the provision of public and private schools.

The provision of school facilities by the private sector is also considered since it represents a net gain to the Government in their drive to promote private participation. Private participation in education reform, with or without government financial subsidies and with or without conditions, increases the aggregate capacity of the entire school provision, and is, therefore, analysed. The advantage of the private participation is addressed in research question no. 4. The research data on the private sector result from the random sample sending of questionnaires to the private school operators throughout the country and participant observation and interviews at the Office of Private Education Commission and related state agencies.

The provision of educational resources and finance by the public and the private sectors constitutes the total provision of additional school facilities available for education reform, all of which can be administered by the existing implementing agencies. Whether the additional workload justifies the employment of additional staff or requires additional training or both, has to be determined in phases 2 and 3.

Feasibility (phase 3)

At this stage, the data collected from phase 1 and phase 2 give some data on the matching of the requirements and the capacity.

It is anticipated that the national educational capacity is insufficient to cope with the projected demand for schooling. This statement has to be qualified, however, and is covered by research question, no. 2 appearing in Chapter 4. Private participation might, therefore, have to be promoted and its optimum role in the short and the long run would be determined in conjunction with the financial subsidises and the increasing number of schoolchildren entering the compulsory primary education level in each future year, an issue covered by research question, no. 7.

The analysis also includes an assessment of the overall combined operation of the three implementing agencies by employing the following types of questions (Rondinelli, Middleton and Verspoor, 1990: 43-44):

1. Do project tasks fall within the current mission and functions of the proposed implementing organisation, and if not, will the organisation require new authority, resources, skills or technology?

2. What is the formal division of labour for performing tasks among organisations and within the proposed implementing organisation?

3. Are current divisions of responsibility responsive to the needs of beneficiaries and managers who will be responsible for carrying out the project tasks?

4. Does the proposed implementing organisation have a performance record that indicates how effectively it is likely to manage the tasks included in the project? If so, how well has it performed similar tasks in the past? If not, how can the organisational structure be modified to take on new and unfamiliar responsibilities?

5. If the proposed tasks are new for the organisation, how much opposition and support within the organisation are they likely to generate, and how can potential conflicts be reduced and support increased?

6. Has the proposed implementing organisation been able to meet the needs and demands of intended beneficiaries by providing services of adequate quality and quantity?

7. If not, how will the structure of the organisation be changed to increase its responsiveness to the needs of clients and beneficiaries in the proposed project?

8. Have relationships between the proposed implementing organisation and its clientele been satisfactory enough to allow the participation of intended beneficiaries in project planning and implementation?

9. Do beneficiaries view favourably the role of the organisation in the proposed project?

From the above questions, if the existing administration structure does not address the additional responsibility incurred by the education reform, then the solving of the problem will be a significant item in the framework of implementing action plans in the final phase - the implementation, phase 4.

Implementation (phase 4)

The main items in this model for a 12 year basic education provision would be the leeway or alternative courses of action needed to provide large scale secondary school facilities when the country intends to extend the compulsory education from six to twelve years. This is the focus of research question no. 3. The main sources of information to formulate meaningful models of action plans under certain sets of environmental uncertainty are derived from the earlier three phases. The data from all research enquiries would then provide some options for the formulation of alternative plans for increased educational provision.

We have already been referring in this chapter to research questions; it is time, therefore, in the next chapter to set these within the larger research strategy of this thesis.

This study was instigated by the author's interest in an area which developed through the practical experiences in managing two private schools in Thailand and an awareness of matters of current national concern. The following are the delineated research objectives and questions.

Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to create a model of a 12-year basic educational provision for the Thai government which is as an alternative model to the existing basic educational provision.

1. This study investigates the ability and the possibility of the government being able to cope with the aggregate demand of the school age population when basic education is expanded nation-wide from six to twelve years by 2001.
2. It enquires into and formulates other alternatives for tapping into additional resources outside the central national budget for a basic education. It investigates and confirms the role of private participation and it wonders whether there are worthwhile advantages for the government in encouraging private participation and/or financial subsidies to the private sector.
3. It attempts to show how to put the theory of Contingency into practice; in other words, how the collected subjective raw data, especially abstract knowledge of environmental uncertainty can be put into a more concrete form which is then translated and fitted into the four phases of the approach: requirement, capacity, feasibility and implementation.

The methodology employed in this research combines a quantitative and qualitative approach with the four fundamental phases of the Contingency model. The field research is derived from a critical analysis of relevant data and from documentary research, a questionnaire, participant observations and interviews, which provide the material for the formulation of a model for twelve-year basic educational provision.

Research questions

There were formulated the following research questions:

1. The peculiarity of the administration of compulsory education in Thailand: why do the public (state) primary schools have to be owned and run by many state organisations reporting to different national bodies; and what is the function of each agency?

2. Why has there been a problem of a high incidence of non-schooling at the pre-primary (kindergarten) education level and why has there been a low rate of transition to post-primary level? Have the economic problems of parents prevented them from sending their children to school? [The distribution of national income might have been uneven during the 1980s when the economic growth of the country was increasing at an average rate of 7% per annum.]

3. How does one solve the future problem of providing large scale secondary schooling facilities before the year 2001 when the country extends compulsory education from six to twelve years, in partial compliance with the Declaration of the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien in March 1990? Are there other options and alternative courses of actions for the Thai government in order to cope with the new situation of extended compulsory education?

4. Besides government subsidies coming directly from the national annual budget allocation to the private schools, what are the other alternative sources of financial assistance which could be introduced by the Thai government?

5. What are the determinants of demand and supply for basic education? *On the Demand side,* the following ingredients have to be investigated:

1) The distribution of the population of school-age groups
2) The six-year extension to compulsory education
3) The economic problems of the families of schoolchildren

On the supply side, the following items have to be examined:

1) The national annual budget allocation for the basic educational provision
2) The extent of the government subsidies in the short and the long runs to the private sector
3) The problems of private participation
4) The break-even point of the private sector in relation to that of the public sector.

6. What is the likely optimum degree of private participation which is needed to bridge the gap between the required level of overall educational provision and that provided by the public sector?

7. What items and situations can be identified as relevant to the four phases of the Contingency Approach, namely, Requirements, Capacity, Feasibility and Implementation?

8. The government has had a clear policy of controlling the management and affairs of the private school operators, whereas the private sector would like to be free from government control. This has been a recurring dilemma. It has to be reconciled and a compromise must be found. What would then be the optimum middle way?

9. The model for twelve-year basic education is the core of this research study. What should it look like? What are the conditions upon which the model is to be based? Do they comprise only details, objectives and conditions of the programmes of work which need to be carried out within a specified time frame by each responsible office and department concerned with primary education administration in the short and long runs?

In light of these research objectives and questions, this chapter outlines the methodology employed to achieve them. The research design has been established through reading in the fields of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Consequently a dual approach determines the research methods and methodology as a whole, as well as the analysis and interpretations of this study. Knowledge of data analysis procedures and processes reflect the underlying principles of the research literature. The chapter comprises three parts:

Part 1: two paradigms in the Social Sciences: methods of educational management enquiry

Part 2: knowledge of theories in a quantitative and qualitative study enquiry

Part 3: research methodology

The first part concentrates on two paradigms in the Social Sciences and on discussion of the distinctions between quantitative and qualitative enquiries, especially the assumptions behind them. It outlines theories of knowledge concerning the two commonly used paradigms in educational administration, especially with regard to their nature and methodological assumptions. The pros and cons of the two approaches are emphasised in support of the combined methodology used in this study.

The second part concerns analysis and justification of the use of both quantitative and qualitative enquiries and a justification of the choice of instruments selected for each approach, especially regarding their validity and reliability. The method of verification by the qualitative approach is also explored. The advantages and disadvantages of the interview and participant observation, which are the most significant instruments in the qualitative approach, are also pinpointed. Mention will be made of the rationale for the use of the combined methodology approach and the Contingency model in the design of research methodology.

The third part addresses the actual design of the research methodology based on that combined methodology.

Part 1: Two paradigms in the Social Sciences: methods of educational management enquiry

Research paradigms can essentially be divided into two types: the "scientific paradigm" or "positivistic" approach that looks for causal explanations, and the "humanistic paradigm" which seeks an understanding of events in terms of intentions, motives and stated reasons (Keeves, 1988). These two perspectives within the Social Sciences represent strikingly differently ways of looking at social reality and constructing different ways of interpreting it (Cohen and Manion, 1985).

The "quantitative paradigm" is termed the traditional, the positivist, the experimental, or the empirical approach (Smith, 1983), whereas the "qualitative paradigm" is termed the humanistic (Greenfield, 1975; Greenfield and Robbins, 1993; Keeves, 1988) or the interpretative approach (Smith, 1983). It is essential to be able to differentiate between these paradigms since each is under-pinned by different assumptions (Greenfield, 1975; Evers and Walker, 1988; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; and McCracken, 1988) and provide distinctly different bases for designing a research study in the Social Sciences. These will be discussed at greater length, in particular concerning why and how the two paradigms and the implications of their various assumptions are used as the basis for this research design and implementation.

Evers and Lakomski claim that "all major developments in educational administration... have been driven by philosophical consideration" (1991: 2). The two major paradigms in the Social Sciences which guide the conduct of educational administrative research help researchers understand phenomena by advancing philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality and what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions and criteria of proof (Cohen and Manion, 1985; Keeves, 1988).

These paradigms, therefore, encompass both theories and methods. However, they continue to evolve, they differ by discipline and fields of enquiry, and they are essentially contestable. Some have claimed that there exists a uniform set of values which should be seen as "objective" or not contaminated by human passion or "subjectivity", the language and meaning of such subjectivity being beyond the scope of "objective" natural scientific methods and "subjectivity" is the same approach. [The terms "objective" is still the same but "subjective" is named "subjectivity" in Adams' model.] Greenfield sees the quantitative paradigm as "objectivist" where inquiry is conducted by natural scientific methods (1975). It is argued that a uniform set of values is only made possible by such objectivity where the analysis of language and meaning are omitted (Greenfield, 1975; Greenfield and Robbins, 1993). On the other hand, the qualitative paradigm is seen as "subjectivist" in that it represents an analysis of language by which the search for meaningful relationships is conducted and interpreted by researchers who have specific purposes of inquiry (Greenfield, 1975; Greenfield and Robbins, 1993).

The qualitative study consists of a research process aimed at understanding a social phenomenon based on building a complex holistic picture, formed out of the words, opinions or views of interviewees and the data from observations, and conducted in a original setting. The quantitative inquiry, by contrast, is research into social phenomena based on selecting and testing a set of theories composed of variables, normally measured in numbers and analysed with instruments borrowed from the natural sciences, and is used by various Social Sciences in order to determine whether the generalisations of theory hold true or can forecast the future outcomes of events. Evers and Lakomski criticised this method of inquiry by claiming that, "it ignored the social and political context in which organisations exist and in which administrative practice occurs" (Evers and Lakomski, 1991: 1).

The research methodology of this study is a combined method comprising both qualitative and quantitative enquiries. The qualitative methodological inquiry consists of participant observation in government related agencies and personal interviews with relevant authoritative high ranking officials in Thailand. The quantitative methodology comprises a questionnaire sent to a sample of private school owners/operators throughout Thailand, and it has necessitated employing regression analysis to achieve a projection of the numbers of school age population and the amount of budgetary allocation required for the provision of twelve years' basic education.

There are merits and demerits in both paradigmatic approaches. The non-purist may be able to mobilise, to his or her advantage, the merits of each type. This involves the use of the combined-paradigm method in a single study, as it is used in this research, paying special attention to accurate measurement with the more precise instrument so that the outcome is conclusive and can be used with confidence (Walker and Evers, 1985). Keeves supports this method by declaring that

> The investigation of educational problem consideration must be given to both approaches to inquiry....The two approaches are complementary to each other in the search for knowledge (Keeves, 1988: 4).

By contrast Guba and Lincoln (1988) see the methodologies of the "conventional" (quantitative) and naturalistic inquiries as "non-miscible" in any proportion and they advocate that methodologies be rooted in separate or discrete paradigms and that researchers should be observant of the assumptions that underlie their research. Morse suggests four characteristics of qualitative research problems:

> 1) The concept is immature due to a conspicuous lack of theory and previous research; 2) the notion that the available theory may be inaccurate, inappropriate, incorrect, or biased; 3) a need exists to explore and describe the phenomenon and to develop theory or; 4) the nature of the phenomenon may not be suited to quantitative measures (Morse, 1991:120).

The above arguments result from adopting purist's point of view, sometimes because the nature of a particular problem may direct or influence some researchers to select either the qualitative or quantitative design. Some problems may well be suited to a quantitative inquiry since this type of inquiry is appropriate to problems previously studied by other researchers so that a body of literature already exists, variables are known and theories have been constructed (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). On the other hand, some inquiries may not fit into the quantitative method since qualitative research tends to be used for exploratory purposes (to explore a topic where the variables and theory are not yet formulated.)

It can be argued that one-way research is unsound since it is not the "fault" of either the qualitative or the quantitative approach. There is no excuse for the researcher not being able to use both approaches to a single study to address the crucial issues of bias and accuracy.

The intent of this study is to develop valid and reliable generalisations and outcomes by using instruments which are valid and reliable. On the other hand, since a qualitative study employs inductive logic categories and patterns or else theories emerge from "context bound" information, the questions of validity and reliability must depend on the verification of information gathered from data analysis procedures. This will be explained further in part two, knowledge of theories in a qualitative and quantitative study.

Since some researchers normally lean towards one paradigm this perspective becomes their dominant view. Thus the combined-method research may be difficult for those who are trained in only one approach because such research methods are complex (Keeves, 1988). They are also expensive, time consuming and lengthy (Locke, Spirduso and Silverman, 1987; Delamont, 1992).

Merriam mentioned six assumptions in a qualitative study: -

> 1) Qualitative researchers are concerned primarily with "process", rather than outcomes or products; 2) qualitative researchers are interested in "meaning" - how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world; 3) the qualitative researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data are mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines; 4) qualitative research involves fieldwork. The researcher physically goes to the people, setting, site or institution to observe or record behaviour in its natural setting; 5) qualitative research is descriptive in that the researcher is interested in process, meaning, and understanding gained through words or pictures; 6) the process of qualitative research is inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, and theories from details (Merriam, 1988: 19-20).

In the real world, the dichotomy of the qualitative and quantitative analysis may not be as clear cut as explained above. Walker and Evers claim that "there is some confusion over both the term "paradigm" and the problem of unambiguously identifying paradigms of educational research" (Walker and Evers, 1988: 31). In the Social Sciences the abstract phenomena and events are not as distinct as those of the pure sciences (Evers and Lakomski, 1991). They may overlap or eclipse one another depending on the nature of the problem which leaves interpretation open to criticism. This issue is, therefore, controversial and debatable. As shown in this chapter, no one can prove definitively which approach is better than the other. This is because both possess merits and demerits. The most fruitful course of action is to make efficient use of the two approaches according to one's ability. Walker and Evers argue that a researcher needs "to be effective against a wide range of theoretical perspectives" (1988: 35).

This idea has the support of the pragmatists (Keeves, 1988; Rossman and Wilson, 1985; Lancy, 1993) who argued that a false dichotomy exists between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and that the researcher should make the most practical use of both paradigms in understanding social phenomena

However, it is a fact that in real life situations not every researcher is capable of using the quantitative paradigm if he or she is not familiar with the relevant instrument used to measure or to test numerical facts/events or to project the outcomes in figures or numbers. Again not every fact or social phenomenon can be measured numerically. At the same time many researchers find it difficult to conduct a qualitative method of research because it requires different approaches with which they are not familiar, especially the method of verification which is not as clear cut as the quantitative approach (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Delamont, 1992).

Evers and Walker argue that "there is not a logical consistent way to partition the domain of knowledge into radically distinct forms of knowledge" (1983: 35). Indeed it can be argued that the quantitative and qualitative methods of research are useful as complementary rather than rival designs.

Whatever the research method used, one must also be conversant with the theories and instruments of epistemological concern for the surrounding issues so that the reader can appreciate the value of the study in terms as unbiased and accurate as possible. It is the duty of the researcher to possess the necessary skill and resources required for an efficient analysis of any study so as to provide precise findings which are acceptable to his or her audience.

Part 2: Knowledge of theories in a quantitative and qualitative study

Given the foregoing, it can be noted that, consistent with the quantitative paradigm assumptions, reality is deemed objective and measurable and exists apart from the researcher. The selection and testing of theories or instruments are introduced at the outset in the design process. Part two of this chapter will concentrate on the uses of theories and instruments in this study.

The use of theories or instruments in the quantitative study

In order to analyse the data collected in the quantitative study in a vigorous and relatively precise manner, one must delineate theories and instruments for classification and for prediction in order to determine the future outcomes with more accuracy and without bias. In the design of this methodology, a series of instruments have been selected by the author and borrowed from statistics (regression analysis), Economics (demand and supply) and Finance (break-even point) as well as participant observation, historical research, questionnaire and the Contingency Approach.

Regression analysis

The first instrument is the regression analysis method borrowed from statistical techniques. It is designed to study the relationship between two variables, such as Y and X. The instrument is used for the projection of the numbers of the school age population in the future, for instance, and it relies on the actual numbers of school attenders in the preceding years. [e.g., using the ten years (1986-1995) in order to extrapolate the future total of the numbers of school age population for the period of the next ten years (1996-2005). Ideally by statistical theory, "the relationship between a dependent variable Y, and one or more independent variables X_1, X_2, X_p is expressed as a regression equation, $Y= f(X_1, X_2,...X_p)$" (Tatsuoka, 1988: 737). The predicted numbers will represent the demands of 12-year schooling in the future by using the statistical formula $Y = a + bX$.]

The regression analysis, therefore, serves as a valid and reliable instrument for the projecting the future outcome of one dimension, i.e. the total of the school age population, and the number of school attenders (Keppel and Zedeck, 1989).

The figures for the school age population are derived from demographic surveys. This population is expected to undergo basic education and this may be enforced by law. In this context, the analysis should be relatively valid and more reliable than forecasts based on projection of manpower or demand and supply of economic goods, which depend on other factors. Forecasts based on the latter are strongly criticised by a writer, such as Adams (1988).

The author considers that these topics can be highly sensitive (context bound) and are subject to change by the influence of other independent variables (see Figure 10).

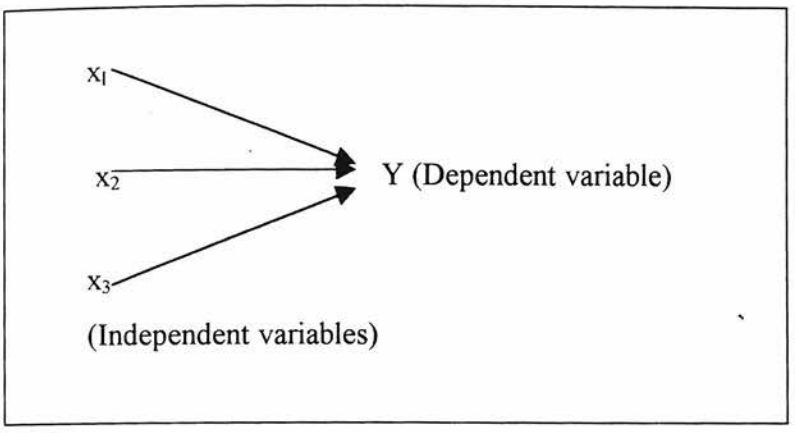


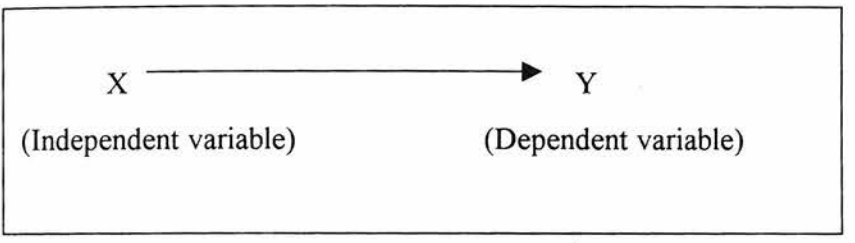
Figure 10: Relationship between independent and dependent variables

In this particular analysis, it may be argued that the outcome Y [representing any dependent variable like income, unemployment etc. referred to by Klees, 1990] is valid [the item we want to measure] but it is not reliable because the outcome Y may vary from test to test depending on other independent variables x_1, x_2 ,x_3 [not all of them can be accounted for since they are too abstract to measure].

A recent misuse of the comparison of different independent variables with a dependent variable can be seen in the data presented in synthesis papers which were pointed out by Irvine (1996; 1997). He argued that the data in the reports were misleading; for instance the representative data on adult literacy rate failed to demonstrate the progress of adult literacy (Irvine 1996; 1997). The reason for this was that different independent variables x_1 and x_2 were compared - an adult literacy rate in one country (x_1) was compared to a different sort of rate in another country (x_2). It is "misleading to compare the Indian data of seven years and above with data for other countries which defines adult literacy as referring to persons 15 years and older" (Irvine, 1996: 8).

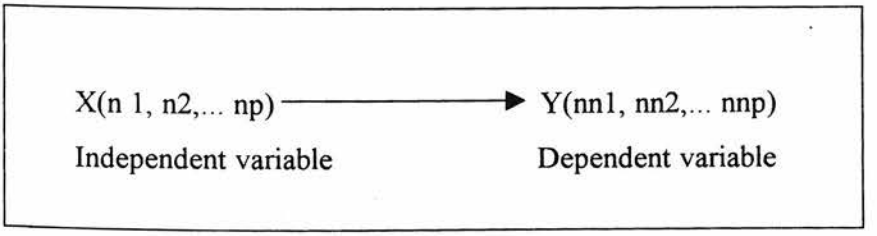
The instrument itself is not at fault; it is the researcher's mistake to use this simple tool to solve a complex problem which is influenced by many independent variables. In this study, the use of regression line analysis, by its very name, implies that the instrument is good for only one dimension. It is a first degree instrument, which attempts to forecast the dependent variable which is influenced or determined by only one independent variable [X influences or determines Y, see Figure 11].

Figure11: Relationship between X and Y in one dimensional regression analysis



In the design of this methodology, this particular regression analysis is used to determine the future numbers of school age population and school attenders, based on the past figures of school children in the preceding period as explained earlier. This involves only one dimension (X ⟶ Y) (see figure 11). In addition, in the research context, the independent X is the actual of school children in past years and the dependent variable Y is the numbers of school children in future years. This relationship is illustrated in figure 12.

Figure 12: Relationship between X and Y in the study



This formula is even more valid and reliable since independent variable X (n1 ,n2 ... np) in the past academic years determines the dependent Y(nn1,nn2,...nnp) in the future years. The independent variable X(n1,n2,...np) (school attenders) is relatively less sensitive than other economic factors since X is mainly influenced by the fertility rate which has been fairly constant over a long period of time. The school children in question underwent "compulsory primary education". In other words, they represented the demand for schooling that grew at a constant rate. With the relatively constant nature of other variables (insignificant influence by other independent variables) the independent variable X is "context free".

In this analysis, regression analysis is more or less a mathematical average formula. As a matter of fact, there is another easy technique, the "fit by eye method". The predicted variables are determined by a line drawn by eye and extrapolated from the past variables plotted on a graph. This method is strongly criticised as not being scientific enough to be acceptable. The idea then developed into the regression line method. This instrument is by no means, however, an invalid technique to measure everything, as stated by Klees (1990). However, it is relatively a more precise tool which is not only valid and reliable in the above context, but is a sharp instrument useful and workable in this research study. The upshot of all this is that the demands of the school age population and the supply of school facilities in future years can be predicted with accuracy by this method.

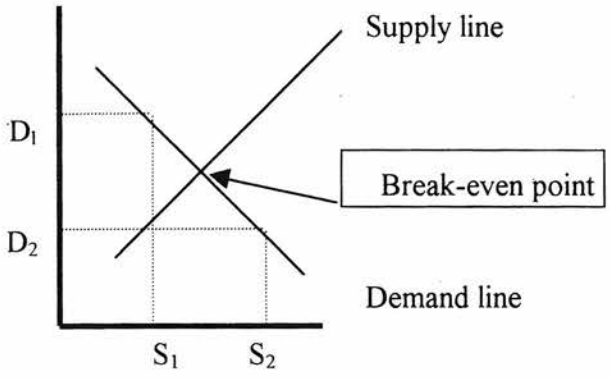
In this particular methodology the equilibrium of demand and supply in each future year depends firstly on the capability role of the public sector to provide all the school facilities. This again depends on the availability of the national annual budgetary allocation of resources and the organisational management of implementing a twelve-year basic education. If the total national capacity meets the requirements, there will be no balance left over to be filled by private participation. However, that is only in terms of the finance of the supply and demand of the school age population and school attenders. The same technique has to be used in three phases of Contingency Approach.

However, if a balance is to be struck then the role of private participation becomes significant and has to be analysed. This is not the same concept as in economic theory. The price of goods in theoretical economics is determined by the market mechanism. However, the prices (school fee) charged by private schools are constant and fixed each year by the Ministry of Education. There is no invisible hand to adjust the school fee in the market as in free market economics. Therefore, the concept of an equilibrium point of future demand and supply in the design plan of this study is simply borrowed by name from the economic theory.

To clarify this, demand is termed requirement and supply is termed capacity in the Contingency Approach. The demand of the study, therefore, represents the requirements for places and the budgetary allocation for 12-year schooling, while supply represents the capacity of educational management to provide places and budgetary allocation for a twelve-year basic education. Demand and supply in the form of accurate figures are significant since they serve as the core ingredients to fill in the three phrases of the Contingency Approach technique (Requirements, Capacity and Feasibility phases) on which the whole study relies for the accuracy of its results.

Another instrument needed to supplement the analysis of the relevant data is the "break-even point analysis" which is borrowed from the financial and economic fields. It posits a fixed relationship regarding demand and supply (McCormick, 1993). According to the economic principles of demand and supply, the lines of demand and supply appears as in figure 13.

Figure 13: Break-even point in financial and economic concepts



In this research methodology the concepts of requirements, capacity and feasibility in the Contingency Approach are seen through the economic principles of the demand and supply model as shown in figure 13.

For example, if D_1 is the demand and S_1 is the supply, at this point in time there is considered to be a shortage according to economic principle. A shortage exists because the supply cannot respond to the higher demand. This is considered infeasible by the Contingency Approach according to the same principle. When the supply line meets the demand line, the break-even point (D_2, S_2) occurs. At this break-even point the supply corresponds with the demand. Thus it is considered feasible by the Contingency Approach.

The problem in this study seems to be how the demand and supply lines can be investigated, and what can be considered as demand and supply for a twelve-year basic education. In the designed methodology, it is intended to determine the size of the required budget and the available budget for a twelve-year basic education. This will identify the feasibility of education reform in the third phase of the Contingency Approach.

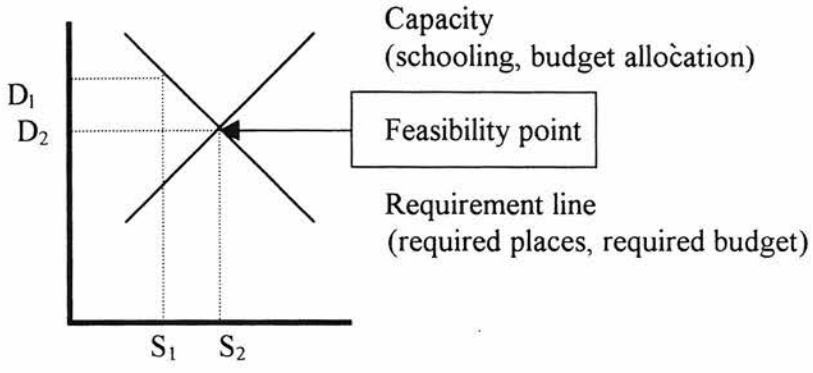
In terms of numbers, the demand for schooling can be worked out by a calculation of the actual number of the existing school age population and which is then projected forward by regression analysis. The supply, in terms of numbers of places, can be represented by the actual number of students in the 12-year basic schooling system, comprising primary, lower secondary, upper secondary and vocational levels. These represent the actual supply or capacity of the existing school system calculated from the actual number of school attenders. If required, these can also be projected forward by regression analysis.

Regarding demand in terms of finance, the demand for the basic schooling can in turn be represented by the required budget. If the number of the school age population is known, the cost of educating can be calculated. By multiplying the cost of education at each level with the number of students at each level, the budgetary requirement can be worked out.

However, the cost of education at each level varies and there are annual increases to be taken into account. An annual 10% rise in the cost of education is used in this study. This 10% is calculated by averaging the annual increase in education costs over the last five years. The same method is applied for the calculation of supply in terms of finance, but the number of school attenders is used instead of the school age population, and projecting them forward.

In the adopted methodology, the demand line represents the requirement for places and in turn the budget requirement for a twelve-year basic education. The supply line presents the capacity to provide places and in turn the budget allocation for the twelve-year basic education, as shown in figure 14.

Figure 14: Break-even point according to the designed methodology



Principally, if the demand for places or budget meets the supply at D_2,S_2, then it is feasible. This is because the capacity to supply the places or budget allocation for the twelve-year basic education, or both are adequate; it makes the education provision feasible.

If the demand for places or budget cannot meet, for instance at D_1, S_1, in this case the government has to increase the number of places and/or the budget allocation to supply the requirements for schooling, which is time-consuming. The government cannot reduce the high level of requirements since provision of twelve years' basic education is stipulated in the new constitution of 1997 to be a government duty (Thailand, 1997); consequently the government has to continue increasing capacity until there is no excess demand or break-even point is reached. These issues are dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study.

Questionnaire

Questionnaires are commonly used in quantitative studies to uncover specific variables which are normally lacking or inadequate in the existing literature and journals. Fink and Kosecoff (1985) discuss and explain their construction design as requiring relevant and good questions, appropriate format and length, adequate sample size and response rate, an analysis method for the survey information and an appropriate presentation of survey results.

In this study a set of questionnaires was sent, using a random sampling method, to private school operators throughout Thailand in order to find out how many private schools are not subsidised. Was there any surplus supply in the existing private school facilities? Did they intend, or were they willing, to expand school facilities without government subsidies if the compulsory education level were extended to twelve-years of basic education? The essence of the questionnaire was also to determine the problem of government control over private participation. All the answers provide the independent variables necessary for determining the degree of private participation and also for the four phases of the Contingency Approach (Requirements, Capacity, Feasibility, and Implementation), which will be utilised in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Dillman (1978) suggests a three-phase follow-up sequence:

1) one week after the initial mailing, send out a postcard reminder
2) three weeks latter a letter and replacement questionnaire
3) seven weeks latter a letter and replacement questionnaire sent by registered mail.

The traffic problem in Bangkok, slow mailing system and flooding during the rainy season made it difficult to send a postal reminder one week after the first mailing as suggested; this was too early and might itself have created a negative effect of irritation among respondents. The first follow-up was, therefore, dispatched three weeks after the first mailing. The other recommendations by Dillman were followed.

The use of theories and instruments in the qualitative study

This section explains theory in qualitative studies side by side with the use of the theories and instruments used in the research.

In a qualitative approach, a researcher does not normally begin with a theory which he or she intends to test or verify. In accordance with the inductive process of this type of research, a theory or pattern may emerge during the data collection and analysis phase of the research or else be used relatively late in the research process as a basis for comparison with other theories (Lather, 1986).

Interviews and observations are the more common instruments for data collection besides the documentary research of primary sources. The research questions will also guide the course of theory formulation towards the end of the analysis procedure. Merriam (1988) and Bogdan and Biklen (1992) give a clear picture of the observation and interview methods by specifying their advantages and disadvantage as follows:

> In the process of observation, the advantages are: the author has first hand experience with informants and can record information as it occurs. Unusual aspects can be noticed during observation. Whereas, this method has also a limitation such as a researcher may be seen as intrusive. "Private" information may be observed (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 47).

In this study, participant observation within government-related agencies provided better understanding for the research, since it included discussions with high-ranking officials and their working staff in a real setting. Experience of events and atmosphere with special regard towards the behaviour of informants within each department was thus achieved.

Tarf concludes that the benefits to be gained by participant observation are as follows:

> The investigators' involvement in the normal activities of the group may be treated as a case of partial acculturation in which they acquire an insider's knowledge of the group through their direct experience with it. These experiences provide them with tacit knowledge which helps them to understand the significance of the group members of their own behaviour and that of others and enables them to integrate their observations about that behaviour with information obtained from other sources such as interviews with informants and documentary material (Tarf, 1988: 59).

As for interviews, they are useful when informants cannot be directly observed. Informants can provide historical information and allow the researcher "control" over the line of questioning. On the negative side, the interview provides "indirect" information which has been filtered through the views of interviewees as well as information obtained in a designated place rather than in the natural field setting. The researcher's presence may bias responses. Moreover not all people are equally articulate or perceptive.

If these techniques or instruments are employed, the bias aspect has to be carefully considered; otherwise the results may be value laden or produce biased conclusions. Accuracy and reliability have to be verified by a series of check-up systems, either by consulting different people in the same environment, or by using the same questions with different interviewees or during participant observation, suggested by Merriam (1988).

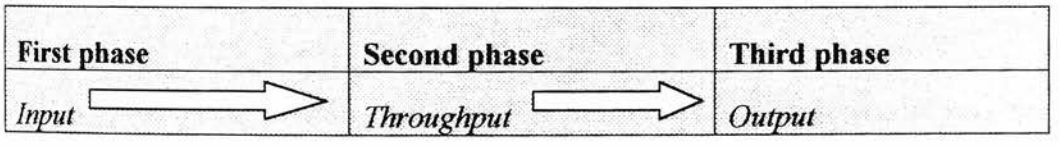
Awareness of these drawbacks should provide sufficient warning for the researcher to take precautionary measures in dealing with relevant situations. In this research plan, the high-ranking officials interviews and participant observations in the Offices of the National Education Commission (ONEC) and relevant departments in the Ministry of Education and in the Ministry of Interior Affairs were among the qualitative analysis methods used to formulate an holistic picture of the problems and solutions.

Part 3: Research design

This research was structured according to the four phases of the Contingency Approach and utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods: documentary research, participant observation, interviews and questionnaires. The qualitative and quantitative enquiries have been analysed and justified in the first two parts of this chapter, while the Contingency Approach has already been reviewed in chapter 3. The following part of this chapter is about the documentary research, participant observations in relevant government offices, personal interviews with authoritative high-ranking officials, and a questionnaire sent to a representative sample of private schools throughout Thailand.

In order to formulate the model of basic education for the Thai government, the three phases of research are arranged in the following order: -

Figure 15: Three phases of the research



The first phase produces the second which in turn produces the third. These three phases will represent the whole body of research and entail a long programme of detailed data analysis. The substantial issues of each phase are illustrated in Figure 16.

Figure 16: Details of the three phases of the research

First phase	**Second phase**	**Third phase**
Input ⇨	*Throughput* ⇨	*Output*
1. *Documentary research*: theories and sources *1) Contingency Approach*: 1.1 Requirements 1.2 Capacity 1.3 Feasibility 1.4 Implementation *2) Statistical approach:* Regression analysis *3) Economic approach*: demand and supply, and break-even point analysis	1. *Documentary research*: local and national Thai official documentary compilation and analysis 2. *Personal interviews*: authoritative high ranking officials interviews and participant observations in state related agencies 3. *Questionnaire:* sent to private school operators	1. Model for a twelve-year basic educational provision.

First phase of the research: documentary research on theories and resources

The first phase of the research according to figures 16 served as an input for the following two sections by providing relevant information for the analytical approach in the second phase.

The first phase comprised examination of selected educational sources and theories of education from academic text books, journals and research papers, information on databases on the Internet, and information on CD-ROM namely, Dissertation Abstracts, ERIC, Sociofile, and Education Index. These were all reviewed from Edinburgh University Library.

The documentary research material, concerning theories of educational management, economic concepts of demand and supply, financial break-even point technique and the statistical concept of regression line analysis, provided background information in general as well as specifically addressing how to tackle the problem of compulsory educational provision in the world. The literature threw some light on the formulation of the research under consideration and provided some detail about the quality, level and degree of popularity of this area of research [including which topics are studied the most].

Second phase of the research

The first phase of documentary analysis (outlined above) was essential for creating a research design based on the Contingency Approach; however, the sources used did not provide adequate information about the existing context of Thai education. Therefore, in addition to general documentary evidence, primary sources from official documents on government policies, budgets, national education plans, national economic and social development plans and reports and resources from related educational departments were required. It is, therefore, necessary to search for primary documentary sources most of which were written in Thai. Any non-Thai researcher would face a language barrier to understanding these documents, and would have difficulty in communicating with related departments where only the Thai language is officially used. Fortunately, as a Thai national, this researcher was able to overcome the language barrier.

The research design combined both quantitative and qualitative enquiries, in conjunction with the four fundamental phases of the Contingency Approach. During the field research, participatory observation was undertaken for one year in Thailand where compilation and analysis of data from documentary research, participant observations, interviews and a questionnaire was carried out. (See details of the itinerary programme of field research in Thailand in appendix VI)

1. Documentary research: local and national Thai official documentary compilation and analysis

Local documentary sources were accessed from Chulalongkorn University and other library facilities in Bangkok as well as from the Library of the Association of Thai Private Schools. The purpose was to look for literature, journals and research papers concerning the topics of compulsory education and private participation in education in Thailand.

Thailand's official documents and data form the bulk of the data, which became a central focus of the second phase of research. The documentation will be found in various government agencies, such as the National Education Commission and the Budget Bureau of the Ministry of Finance as well as relevant departments in the Ministry of Education, most situated around Bangkok. By reviewing the relevant published and unpublished government documents concerning the past and present educational systems in Thailand and the budgetary allocation for educational provision, it was possible to delineate the rationales and principles of the Thai government in promoting twelve-year basic education.

The documentary research focused on government policies, budgets, reports, national education plans, national economic and social development plans, ministerial and departmental reports, and rules and regulations particularly concerned with the control of private schools in matters of administration, teaching staff and school fees; it also concentrated on the issue of private participation. The review included all relevant education Acts, such as the Private School Act, the Teachers Council Act, the National Education Act, the Private Education Commission Act and the National Primary Education Commission Act. The data from this review was incorporated into the four phases of the Contingency Approach in Chapters 6 and 7.

The official document review was intended to gain insight into the rationale for the 12-year basic education reform plan. It sought figures on the school age population, on school attenders, and on the state's capacity for making available basic educational provision. All data was manipulated to present a visualisation of the gap in provision which needs to be filled by private participation.

However, these important documents were not kept in one place. A central computerised system of registration and filing of these documents to international standard was absent in Thailand. The search for these sources and access to the relevant documents was difficult and proved to be a laborious and time-consuming task.

The relevant documents were scattered all around the offices of the National Education Commission (NEC), various departments in the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC). Research documents were often not available in the so-called "libraries" of government departments while there were no computerised records. The researcher had to search personally for them. They might be kept by several officials who were in charge of the records of each department or agency.

The authoritative data collection also included reviews of the published and unpublished reports of ad hoc working committees appointed by the Council of Ministers, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Office of the National Education Commission, the Minister of Education and the Director-Generals of relevant offices and departments such as:

1. Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC)
2. Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC)
3. Office of the Teacher Civil Service Commission
4. Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development
5. Department of General Education

> The "ad hoc working committee" is a significant tool for the Thai government to gather data and information for decision making. It has an established procedure for using this tool not only at the government level, but also down to ministerial and departmental levels. Whenever a department or a ministry or the government wants to decide an important matter of national interest, the head of the department, the minister or the Prime Minister will appoint his own ad hoc working committee which is drawn from persons in various fields, usually within his area of jurisdiction.
>
> Each ad hoc working committee so appointed then produces a fact-finding report after discussion and research into the issue under consideration, and then submits it to the person, who appointed them. Once the report is submitted, this committee is then dissolved. Decisions are made on the basis of these reports which may be published in limited numbers or be kept unpublished depending on the significance or sensitivity of the issue (Author's field research based on participant observation in governmental agencies between August 1996 and September 1997).

These reports are important authoritative sources of primary information, which are difficult and sometimes impossible to access. Without reviewing the relevant ad hoc working committee reports, the data collections are incomplete, in particular insights into problem-solving, the reliability and validity of the fact-finding reports as well as the rationale and principle behind the ad hoc working committee recommendations which might at that particular time be based on uncertain and changeable variables, conditions and hypotheses.

Since there was no central registration of the filing of these reports, a final report might be kept by the heads of department, division or section, or by the official in charge of the matter. In this way, these reports tended to become personal property. No one knew where they were, how many there were or when the reports had been produced. The author had to spend a week or more at each of the departments searching for the necessary documents, especially the unpublished reports for internal communication, inquiring of officials who were supposedly in charge of such matters. (For the details, see the Itinerancy and progress reports in appendix VI.)

2. Personal interviews and participant observations

The second mode of data collection was important for the research and provided significant insights into changing variables and conditions in the dynamic aspects of the model under research. The aim of the second mode was to interview resource persons in the education field in order to extract their personal views and opinions concerning the role of private participation and the problems in providing a twelve-year basic education. Participant observation and interviews are the only ways to discover what truly stems from prior and perhaps deeper values and bèliefs.

Interviews of local authoritative high ranking officials

In order that the model for a 12-year basic educational provision be practical, consensual and acceptable to the government, it was necessary to collect governmental views and opinions. Personal interviews and discussions during participant observation in government offices and departments were also conducted. Personal interviews and discussions were made with the secretary-general and officials of the National Education Commission, the Education Ministry, with the permanent-secretary and officials in the Educational Ministry, and with the secretary-general and officials of the Office of the Private Education Commission. Interviews were also undertaken with officials in the National Primary Education Commission and the Budget Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, as well as in the Central Office of Local Administration of the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

The interviews focused on the personal views, ideas and feelings of the interviewees concerning the role of private participation and the problems involved in the formulation and implementation of basic education. (See the Itinerancy and progress reports in appendix VI)

Participant observation was a crucial source for providing the necessary abstract knowledge in educational environment in terms of political, economic, and bureaucratic aspects, consequently, to fit in with the four phases of the Contingency Approach. The abstract input concerned was assessment of the working environment, management style, the degree of flexibility in coping with changing situations, and in particular management strategies for implementing project tasks. This abstract knowledge emerged from a long series of participant observations in the working situation of government offices, especially observation of the pattern of internal management and problem solving within and outside of the planning and implementing agencies. (See the Itinerancy and progress reports in appendix VI)

3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to investigate the local problems in the private sector concerning management factors and the degree of control exercised by the Ministry of Education. The most important data to gather was the private sector's requirement for government assistance. The questionnaire was designed to investigate the current position of private schools in Thailand and to identify their views on government policies, rules and regulations which pose problems for private participation in the future 12-year basic education programme.

The questionnaire was sent out with an introductory letter from the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) to a sample of private schools in the Bangkok Metropolitan area and to all regions throughout the country.

Population and sample

The sampled population under consideration in the questionnaire consisted of private schools throughout Thailand. The term "private schools" is used to identify schools that provide some or all levels of education; namely, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, and vocational study. They provide formal education in compliance with the Ministry of Education curriculum of general formal education. Those schools that are operated by government related agencies were not taken into account.

In 1992 a total number of 2,623 private schools (OPEC, 1992(b): 13) were under the authority of the Office of the Private Education Commission. A sufficient sample of schools is necessary to ensure that the results would be representative of the total population under consideration. For this reason 20 per cent of the schools existing in academic year 1992 were used to ensure a standard error of no more than 4 % at a 95 percent level of confidence. The sampling formula (Chantavanich, 1992) was

$$n_p = \frac{K^2NP\,(1-P)}{K^2\,P\,(1-P) + NE^2}$$

N = population size

n_p = required sample size to achieve the minimum standard error specified

P = arbitrary sampling fraction

E = standard error in estimating P by p

K = statistical value for the desired range of confidence interval

Based on these assumptions and using a sample fraction of 20 per cent, 386 private schools were selected from the Bangkok metropolitan area and 12 regions throughout Thailand, as indicated in table 3 next following pages.

Table 3: Numbers and samples of private schools by provinces academic year 1992 (OPEC, 1992: 76-81)

Education Region/ Province	Numbers	Samples
Bangkok metropolitan area	879	133
Regions outside Bangkok		
Region 1	242	36
Nakhon Pathom	37	6
Nonthaburi	64	9
Pathum Thani	41	6
Samut Prakan	83	12
Sumut Sakhon	17	3
Region 2	49	7
Yala	16	2
Narathiwat	19	3
Pattani	11	2
Satun	3	0
Region 3	240	35
Songkla	62	9
Phatthalung	8	1
Nakhon Si Thammarat	120	18
Surat Thani	37	5
Chumphon	13	2
Region 4	57	8
Phuket	14	2
Trang	26	4
Krabi	6	1
Phangnga	7	1
Ranong	4	0

Table 3 (Continued)

Education Region/ Province	Numbers	Samples
Region 5	142	21
Ratchaburi	39	6
Kanchanaburi	27	4
Prachuab Khiri Khan	28	4
Phetchaburi	13	2
Suphan Buri	22	3
Samut Songkram	13	2
Region 6	119	17
Lop Buri	34	5
Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya	27	4
Saraburi	21	3
Ang Thong	10	1
Sing Buri	13	2
Chai Nat	6	1
Uthai Thani	8	1
Region 7	188	27
Phitsanulok	20	3
Kamphaeng Phet	20	3
Tak	14	2
Nakhon Sawan	58	8
Phichit	16	2
Phetchabun	38	5
Sukhothai	11	2
Uttharadit	11	2
Region 8	175	26
Chiang Mai	91	13
Chiang Rai	18	3
Nan	5	1
Phrae	13	2
Mae Hong Son	4	1
Lampang	20	3
Lamphun	16	2
Phayao	8	1

Table 3 (Continued)

Education Region/ Province	Numbers	Samples
Region 9	126	18
Udon Thani	30	5
Khon Kaen	61	9
Loei	7	1
Sakon Nakhon	14	1
Nong Khai	14	2
Region 10	99	14
Ubon Ratchatani	40	6
Kalasin	13	2
Nakhon Phanom	7	1
Maha Sarakham	14	2
Yasothon	8	1
Roi Et	15	2
Mukdahan	2	0
Region 11	107	16
Nakhon Ratchasima	62	9
Chaiyaphum	17	2
Buri Ram	11	2
Si Sa Ket	13	2
Surin	4	1
Region 12	200	29
Chachoengsao	27	4
Prachin Buri	20	3
Rayong	95	14
Chanthaburi	22	3
Trat	18	3
Nakhon Nayok	7	1
	11	1

Third phase of the research: model for twelve-year basic educational provision

The third phase is the possible outcome of the previous two phases. Using a Contingency Approach, it formulates a model for a twelve-year basic educational provision for the government. It enables implementation to be carried out through adaptive management strategies in an incremental and facilitated fashion.

This serves as an alternative plan for the government to provide basic education for all, especially during the critical period, by providing sufficient school facilities for the whole school age population, in accordance with the capacity of the government to provide an annual budgetary allocation for the basic education on the one hand, and with the level of private participation on the other. It provides defined mobilisation frameworks for action plans, in the short and long runs, to be implemented in a co-ordinated manner through a series of time-frames. Successful implementation of these frameworks depends on the state agencies adopting adaptive management strategies suitable to the working environment and capable for coping with changing situations.

The following terms have particular direct relevance to the present study. The reader should bear in mind that the meaning of terms commonly accepted in one country may not be the same in another. The definitions offered here are based on Thai educational terminology officially used by the NEC:

- *Age group* refers to all individuals who fall within specified age limits, such as 3-5 years old.
- *Drop out* refers to pupils who leave school before completing the full academic year at a specified level.
- *Estimated data* means statistical data derived from observed data by means of statistical regression analysis.
- *Level of education* is classified by the type of curriculum; namely, primary, lower secondary, upper-secondary, and vocational education which is at the same level as upper-secondary level.
- *Observed data* means statistical data resulting from an actual count carried out by relevant government bodies and normally contained in unpublished records or databases in government related agencies.
- *Private schools*, sometimes called non-government schools, are defined as schools that are owned and administratively controlled by private entrepreneur(s), such as, individuals, groups, churches and foundations. This may not correspond to the classification as used in other countries. Some schools of this type are partly or fully subsidised by the government.
- *Public schools*, also called government schools or state-maintained schools in some countries, refer to the schools that are administrated and financially controlled by public authorities or government bodies e.g. the Ministry of Education.

- *School age population* is the total number of persons within a given age range who are expected to attend school at a certain level.
- *School attender* indicates the actual presence of schoolchildren at school during a specified academic year.
- *School enrolment ratio* or gross enrolment ratio, is the ratio of those enrolled to the total population of school age of that particular academic year generally stated as a percentage.
- *School enrolment* refers to the fact that a child's name has been entered or registered as a pupil in a school. This term also refers to the total number of pupils who enrol in a school in a given academic year. It does not however necessarily indicate the number of schoolchildren who remain at school through out the whole year. This can be understood in terms of "gross enrolment".

In this study, to find out more details on private school management, 386 questionnaires were sent across the whole population of private schools throughout Thailand of which 332 (or 86.01%) were returned. In total 276 (or 71.50%) were complete, while 110 (or 28.50%) were incomplete. It should be noted that since the research finding are based on "Inferential statistics", not a "Descriptive" one, the results from the adequate samples can be generalised as a result of the whole population.

Table 4: Respondents

	All returned questionnaires		*Completed*	
	Numbers	*Percent*	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Respondents	332	86.01	276	71.50
Non-respondents	54	13.99	110	28.50
Total	386	100.00%	386[1]	100.00%

[1] Figure made up of both non-respondents and incomplete questionnaires. The questionnaire can be found in appendix V.

Among private schools, there are varieties in size. The research found that the majority (65.94 %) of private schools were large with more than 500 pupils; 19.57 % were medium sized with 300-500 pupils and 14.49% were small sized with less than 300 pupils. Although it appears from these figures that two thirds of Thailand's private schools are "large", many are in fact divided into primary, lower and upper, and vocational study. Consequently the size of the school is less apparent in reality than on paper.

Table 5: Size of private schools

Size of schools	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Small (< 300 pupils)	40	14.49
Medium (300-500)	54	19.57
Large (> 500)	182	65.94
Total	276	100.00%

(question no. 1.1)

This section has discussed research design. The results from research findings concerning the role of private participation in formal schooling will be investigated in Chapter 5, and the findings based on the revised Contingency Approach Model for analysis of the basic educational reform plan: requirements, capacity, feasibility and implementation will be analysed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 5: The Role of Private Participation

This thesis is concerned to show how both state and private education in Thailand can make a contribution towards the successful implementation of education for all. The research now addresses the views, visions and problems as stated by respondents. In this chapter, quantitative and qualitative methods are used to elaborate upon these views and visions.

This chapter illustrates the significant role played by private participation in education. It concentrates on the state's control of private participation, and on state financial subsidy for the private sector. Findings from the questionnaire are elaborated upon then analysed. Further, the examination defines the factors affecting private participation in response to a twelve-year basic education programme. It is intended to underline trends of private participation in this basic education programme.

In this context, therefore, the chapter aims to:

- define the role of private participation
- examine state control over private participation
- note the role of state subsidy for private schools
- analyse the factors affecting private participation in response to the 12-year basic education programme.

Private schooling has been a feature of the Thai education system since the establishment of the Thai kingdom in the twelfth century. Between the early period, 1237-1850 and the initial period, 1851-1910 schooling was "private" in the sense that the provision of education was individually organised by different private institutions: the royal palaces, the Buddhist temples and the homes of skilled persons (as discussed earlier in Chapter 2). Education provision between 1237 and 1910 was particular to each institution which provided its own instruction for specific groups. The palaces were the schools for royal and noble children, the temples were for commoners and family education was for relatives or for commoners who needed training in particular skills (Sunantha Teacher College, 1989).

Since there was no national curriculum for these institutions to follow (MOE, 1964), knowledge, attitudes and skills were transferred to children from generation to generation through religious beliefs and community mechanisms. This was judged an informal education rather than a formal one; knowledge was not necessarily prescriptive or structured, but was learned in a more informal manner. Lawton (1989) defines informal and formal education by noting that what is being taught is well refined by each society.

Between 1237 and 1870 the concept of a "formal school" with its specific buildings reserved solely for educational purposes did not exist. Education for the commoners during the period of 1237 to 1870, for instance, was privately organised in the monks' sleeping quarters or in other common buildings of the Buddhist temple (Thepsumetanon and Sunthornpun, 1986).

The "formal schooling system" was only introduced in 1871 during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (known as King Rama V, reigning from 1868 to 1910), and was developed rapidly along this line in all directions (Wyatt, 1969). The first formal school was established by the King in the royal palace in 1871, and was managed by the palace officials. This was the first time that the palace school had been opened to the public, and the children of commoners allowed to study there. The purpose of this palace school was to prepare pupils to be state officials (Mulsilp, 1973; Wyatt, 1969). (This has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, part 1.)

During the period between 1871 and 1907, no state agency was authorised to provide compulsory education. All educational provision between 1237 and 1907 can be counted as "private educational provision". From 1908 the Ministry of Interior Affairs was authorised to take responsibility for educational management (MOIA, 1984); as it has already been discussed in chapter 2, part 3. It was a turning point for the state to take a role in educational provision and thus, from 1908, educational provision in Thailand has been provided by both public and private sectors. The educational provision supplied by the state or state relevant agencies is counted as "state" or "public schooling", while educational provision where school facilities are owned and managed by the private sector – whether through individual or group ownership – is counted as "private schooling".

The role of private participation in educational provision has been evident throughout the history of this period. For instance in 1921 there were 427 private schools and 2,960 public schools (Intarangkul Na Ayudya, 1981). Around seventy years latter in 1994 there were 2,315 private schools comprising 1,442 primary schools, 559 lower secondary schools, 146 upper secondary schools and 167 vocational schools; whereas there were 41,128 public schools (MOE, 1994). This indicates that the role of private schooling has not expanded as much as the public one. There are some significant reasons behind this and these will be discussed in the next sections.

State control over private participation

In addition to background information on the role of private schools, the documentary research and the results obtained from the questionnaires also address state control over private participation. This part of the study comprises an analysis based on primary and secondary sources dealing with state policy on private participation from 1975 up to 1997 and outlines the degree of control of the state over private participation. These policies are still being enforced and, therefore, it is necessary to refer to the acts. An analysis of government legislation between 1975 and 1997 shows that government measures encouraged the private sector to make higher investments in education, by contrast the various Acts allowed relevant state agencies more autonomy in the administration and management of the private sector. Following the establishment of the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) under the Ministry of Education, OPEC has strictly controlled the private schools to ensure that they achieve the public schools' standard.

State control between 1975 and 1997

From 1975 until the present day the state has shown continuing concern with private schools. The introduction of the *Private School Act of 1975* has affected the management of all private schools because of the strict academic quality control it imposed. Under this Act the Ministry of Education (MOE) was given authorisation for the first time, to supervise and monitor the fees of private schools, teachers' salaries and fringe benefits, as well as academic quality and the managerial procedures of private schools (MOE, 1975). It is by their authority that the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) was established under the MOE. They were designated to supervise and monitor all private schools, but in practice they did control them.

The author's experience in managing private schools has shown that school inspectors from OPEC have been trained in bureaucratic procedures and have not been familiar with private schools management, which has led to the introduction of more rules and regulations with which all private schools must comply. This is mainly to facilitate the supervision and monitoring by OPEC. By virtue of section 72 of the Act, for instance, private schools had to follow the procedures set down by the MOE. All registration books of teachers, students, internal accounts and other matters concerning the school had to be organised and recorded in accordance with the forms, formats and procedures laid out by the Ministry of Education (MOE, 1975). Although many schools have computers capable of completing these tasks, they were not able to process them because all documentary tasks were required in handwriting. Dealing with this workload is not only the problem of private schools, but also causes inconvenience for public school teachers. Sripasart found that teachers in ONPEC primary schools struggled under a heavy quota of reports that often meant they had an inadequate amount of time to make proper presentations for their teaching commitments (1990).

In addition, the introduction of laws under the various constitutions, national development plans, Acts, rules and regulations have had a marked effect on the private education sector, putting more pressure on its management. For instance, according to the present Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand of 1997, both public and private schools - including private universities, colleges, and all other types of learning institutions come under constitutional law (Thailand, 1997). Twelve versions of the constitutional laws - the highest laws of Thailand - proposed no specific direction for encouraging more private participation, but instead authorised state agencies to control the private sector.

In 1976 a two-shift system[1] was introduced in the state school system. In an attempt to double the intake of schoolchildren within the existing state secondary and vocational school capacity, institutions began registering full-time students in the day and twilight students in the evening (MOE, 1996). This has increased the state capacity for providing post-lower secondary schooling. A two-shift or multiple shift schooling system can bring "more economic benefit" (Bray, 1983: 40) and more efficient use of school resources e.g. buildings and teachers. Bray argues that

> a system of single-session schooling may force authorities to exclude many children from school. A double-session system permits higher enrolments and fewer rejections. From the viewpoint of equity, a triple-session system might be the best of all (Bray, 1989: 54).

In this way the intake capacity can double or triple. The author's experiences in running private schools shows that this can be manageable with an educational law permit. The educational environment in Thailand is different because neither double nor multiple shift systems are allowed to operate in private schools at any level except at a vocational level. The "end shifts" e.g. upper secondary in the morning and vocational education in the afternoon cannot operate on the same school premises; they have to be provided for separately. In addition, students from the same school but from different levels cannot share the same library and educational resources.

As a result of this expansion of the two-shift system, state schools began taking more school students from the limited total school age population during the period 1976-1978, causing the numbers of private schools, especially secondary and vocational schools to decline (MOE, 1979a; 1979b). Consequently, the trend in this period was for private entrepreneurs to invest in school facilities at a level not involved in the two-shift system, thus avoiding competition with state schools. In other words, private participation tended to expand into the areas that were left out of state provision, namely the pre-primary level.

[1] Nowadays the two-shift system is operating widely in most vocational or technical schools, both public and private schools but rarely is seen in public secondary schools. No private school providing general education stream is allowed to provide a two-shift system.

This two-shift system was aligned with the government policy of producing better-educated workforces, and of investigating the standards of the private schools. This policy in turn forced the private secondary schools with unacceptable standards to close down, and left only those with standards set by the MOE to survive.

There have been three national educational development plans since 1982, all containing controls over the private sector's participation in education, as well as over financial support. In all these the aim has been to improve the quality of education and to offer enhanced technical resources (NEC, 1977a; 1982; 1987a; 1987b; 1992a; 1992b). However, in retrospect, few of these policies seem to have effectively supported these principles.

It can be argued that the state has not paid much attention to the policy aimed at encouraging more private participation, regardless of the fact that all NEC policies repeated similarly that the state welcomes private participation (1977a; 1982; 1987a; 1987b; 1992a; 1992b). In practice there was no operating plan or details of directives to make this possible. For instance, the policy encouraging private participation was reflected in the previous *National Education Scheme of 1977* which declared that the state would welcome the private sector in sharing the responsibility of educational provision (NEC, 1977a). The policy directive for the encouragement of private participation stated that "the private sector should take a more active part in close co-operation with the government", but contradicting its own principle in the next phrase that it should only happen "under the strict monitoring and quality control of the government" (NEC, 1990: 7). It has shown the contradiction in the state's policy. Since the above state policy on encouragement of private participation between 1982 and 1990 was in a similar vein, showing a lack of detail, there was ambiguity and it became increasingly difficult to make the policies feasible in practice.

The only policy that has attracted some private participation seems to be state financial subsidising. The questionnaire indicated that the majority of samples of private schools (60.51%) were financially subsidised by the government, leaving only 39.49% without subsidisation.

Table 6: Government financial subsidy

Financial subsidy	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Yes (subsidy)	167	60.51
No (without subsidy)	109	39.49
Total	276	100.00%

(question no. 1.5)

One of the government tools used for encouraging greater private participation is to provide financial subsidising; however, this subsidy benefits only the pre-1974 schools. Schools established after 1974 have not gained benefit from this subsidy. This can be elaborated further by the finding that the majority of private schools in the sample were established before 1974, while the schools which emerged after 1974 amount to only 39.49% of the total. It can be argued that the encouraging policies implemented between 1974 and 1977 were only marginally successful since they did not help as efficiently in attracting private entrepreneurs to invest more or to expand schools as they could have done.

In addition, the state became involved with the private management of education through a policy used to enhance control and regulation. After 1977 the policy directive on private participation changed. It has aimed to improve academic quality in all private schools. With regard to quality control, the policy of improvement has tended to be fruitful for the whole educational system. Improved teaching and learning processes have benefited all students and may also eliminate the problem of quality differences between the schools in urban and rural areas. As a result of these efforts, it can be suggested that all private schools should achieve the same educational quality as the public ones through the standards set by the MOE.

The policy of mitigating or eliminating problems of education quality between 1996 and 2007 is intended to achieve educational excellence by 2007 (MOE, 1996). There will also be a reform of teacher training to correspond with this policy, with the intention of improving teaching skills at all levels. These training programmes will be organised by the MOE, by relevant departments or by accredited institutions appointed by the MOE. Through this policy, teachers both in the public and private sectors, school principals, managers and owners will be obliged to attend comprehensive training at least once every two years (MOE, 1996). It may, however, be argued that the state is trying to increase the academic quality of private schools rather than encouraging the expansion of private participation. It may, in fact, decrease the number of the existing private schools as some may fail to meet the standard. This may in turn create disincentives for the private sector to go beyond the standard.

In addition, the author's experience shows that the major control measure affecting all private schools' management is the ceiling placed upon school fees. This ceiling is principally intended to stop the private schools overcharging parents; but in turn it limits their major source of income. This measure has been acknowledged by the MOE as a significant factor contributing towards the end of private schools as businesses.

Apisit, a vice-chairman in the NEC Board of Commission and Minister in the Office of the Prime Minister, stated that the control over private participation should be eliminated. On Channel 11 on 15 November 1998, he indicated that there are not many countries in the world where all management systems are as highly centralised as in Thailand. A more decentralised stance should have been taken in this instance, in favour of a 12-year basic educational provision. In this way, private schools would be able to share this provision. The role of the state, through the body of the MOE, should concern itself only with national educational policy, plan and vision and should not become involved in the internal management of private schools (Apisit, 1998).

On the other hand, if all private schools have the same standards as the public schools, there will be no apparent difference between them and parents may be unable to differentiate between them. In the author's experience when academic standards of private schools and public schools are the same, parents will enrol their children in public schools as these schools are free at the primary level and cost much less at the secondary and vocational levels than schools in the private sector. If the outcome is the same there is not advantage in paying the higher school fees for private education. This contrasts with the marketing principle that a product must have its own character, or else fail to compete with others in the market. Consequently this policy of standardisation may weaken the position of the private schools. The research has found that the primary problem for private schools is competition in enrolment (34.47%), 19.26% of which is caused by competition with state schools, and 15.21% by competition with other private schools (Questionnaire, question no.3). The prevailing policy may cause a large number of students to transfer to the public sector with the ultimate result that the private schools may be driven out of the market in the long run.

Apart from the control, mentioned earlier, in the past the state has introduced some measures which aim to encourage more private education. These were legitimated through the parliamentary system and finally promulgated in form of acts. This area will be discussed in the next section.

State financial subsidy for private schools

The previous section discussed state policy on private participation. This section outlines the state policy on financial subsidy for private schools.

Since the revolution from monarchy to democracy in 1932, the Thai Government has undertaken responsibility for education for all. This intention has been included in many versions of the constitutions of Thailand, and also in national development policies on education that have focused on the rapid expansion of six-year primary educational provision throughout the country. Owing to a high demand for schooling after the revolution, especially due to the increase in the number of schoolchildren at primary and secondary levels in Bangkok and in rural areas, the government has had to seek external investment in education by encouraging more private participation. The principal policy it adopted to encourage private participation was one of offering financial subsidy. Consequently two significant pieces of legislation concerning the subsidising of private schools were introduced, namely, the *Private School Act 1975* and the *Private School Act 1982*.

After the promulgation of the *Private School Act 1975*, the government urged private schools to increase participation by providing subsidies in various forms. These included sending state teachers to teach part-time in some private schools (MOE, 1965), and by giving permission for new investors to build schools on plots of land belonging to the Ministry of Education (Attasara, 1979). However, it should be noted that this act benefited private schools providing free formal education. In practice, state schoolteachers have been sent only to teach in private schools providing free education for disabled pupils and at Islamic-teaching schools - a type of private, foundation-owned schools. An Islamic school provides non formal education, particularly for Muslims. None of these state teachers have been present in private schools which do not provide free education. Free educational provision in these private schools is made possible because of state financial subsidising of their educational costs.

However, this is only applied to the particular types of schools mentioned. On the condition that the owner donates all properties to the state. In compliance with these measures the state will provide additional land and finance for the construction of new buildings or for the expansion of present buildings Ultimately this means that these schools no longer belong to private owners.

By virtue of sections 64 and 65 of the *Private School Act 1982*, private schools obtained further subsidies in various forms from the government. The financial subsidies to all private schools established before 1974 amounted to 40 % of the educational cost per pupil. Other financial support was provided by a revolving capital loan in order to help them raise their educational quality, extend classes, renovate the schools, buy teaching and learning materials, and construct new buildings or schools (NEC, 1992a; 1992b; Suntornchai, 1995). (The discussion and justification of the policy of 40% support of the educational cost for the pre 1974 schools and some different policies for post 1974 schools will be seen in this chapter on pages 169-193.)

The two acts were expected to encourage more private participation in education. As seen above, the measures took various forms designed to assist existing private schools. The reasoning behind this was that the government realised that private school owners invested heavily in their schools. The investment might cover a piece of land, buildings, school facilities, libraries, sports grounds, parking spaces, school bus services, teaching improvements or learning equipment. However, the only major financial income from the school was the educational fees which mostly covered the teachers' salaries.

The author's experience shows that at least two thirds of private primary school income are needed for teachers' salaries. In other words, the annual fees from 40 out of 60 students in a class are spent on one teacher, even in primary schools which are enrolled to full capacity. This can be a risky business, especially for a newly opened school. Enrolment in the first year may not result in full capacity – across all classrooms - for the whole school.

The questionnaire found that after the payment of operating costs, only 33.34% of private schools achieve a profit; these schools, therefore, have adequate finance for school development. By contrast a greater number (44.07%) have "adequate" finance for operating costs, while 22.59% have inadequate finance or they operate with a deficit. It is, therefore, hard for private schools to continue to operate at this low rate of return on their businesses.

Table 7: profit or loss

Profit or loss (if all operating costs are paid)	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Adequate finance to develop school	90	33.34
Adequate finance for the operating cost	119	44.07
Inadequate finance for the operating cost	61	22.59
Total	270	100.00%

(question no. 2.1)

It should be noted that it might invite false or misleading answers to ask such a bald question concerning profit and loss in a school account. One's first reaction might be to suppose that private schools would be unwilling to admit to this lest they should be forced to pay tax they were hoping to avoid or evade. However, since all private schools in Thailand are exempted from such taxation, this was not such an unreliable source of data as it might have been. Thus the information pertaining to this in this thesis should be regarded as reasonably true and accurate.

[It should be noted here that the questionnaire is designed to investigate the over all private school problems, and not to compare problems in each educational level. A simple random sampling method is used in this study and not a stratify sampling

method. Whereas if one group is extracted and used as a general result for the whole group, a bias is created.]

Furthermore the questionnaire found that 89.45% of classrooms in private schools are in use for teaching and learning purposes, while 10.55% stand empty due to lack of enrolment.

Table 8: Number of classrooms

Number of classrooms	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Total classrooms	7852	100.00
Classrooms in use	7024	89.45
Empty classrooms	828	10.55
Total	7852	100.00%

(question no. 1.6)

A newly opened school with a six-year primary facility, for example, gets income from the pupils enrolling in grade one. If there is no enrolment or only part enrolment in other classes (grades 2 to 6) the business will run at a deficit. Full enrolment for a primary school is time-consuming. Normally it takes at least 6 years from its opening until the pupils from the first grade pass exams and continue onto the following levels. Some of them may dropout or transfer to other schools.

However it is not possible to find out the "break-even" point of enrolment for private schools because the size of each school varies. For example, a primary school may have basically 6 classrooms or it can be 12 classrooms if it has two classrooms for each level or 18 classrooms if it has three classrooms for each level. The six-classroom schools have different break-even points compared to the twelve-classroom schools. Also a classroom can be different in size (width, length in metres) which can be 6x5, 6x6, 6x7, 6x9 or 7x9. A 6x5 classroom may possibly to contain 30 pupils, but a 7x9 can contain up to 60 pupils. In cases like this it is impossible to calculate the break-even point. According to structural architecture, the fixed cost for 6x5, 6x6, 6x7 classrooms is much less than 6x9 and 7x9. The cost for 6x9 and 7x9 classrooms can be two times higher than 6x6. In addition, each private school can have different architecture for the school building and this makes the cost of construction different.

Since the state first realised the importance of private participation and the risky nature of running a school as a business, it has supported private schools as noted previously. Financial subsidises have been provided for private schools. The amount of budgetary allocation for private schools is shown in table 9.

Table 9: Government budgetary allocation for educational provision between 1950 and 1985, from various sources

Year	Budget for MOE (£1 = 50 baht)		Subsidy to private schools		Number of private school Students (persons)	Budget for public schools (£1 = 50 baht)		Number of public school students (persons)
	Million Baht	Million Pounds	Million Baht	million Pounds		Million Baht	million Pounds	
1950	1,236.35	£24.73	55.88	£1.12	683,860	1,180.48	£23.61	3,358,200
1965	1,904.90	£38.10	77.75	£1.56	802,588	1,827.15	£36.54	5,000,856
1967	1,572.90	£31.46	97.33	£1.95	1,079,537	1,475.57	£29.51	5,951,807
1973	2,111.20	£42.22	132.60	£2.65	1,203,035	1,978.60	£39.57	7,321,197
1974	3,484.90	£69.70	289.90	£5.80	1,168,743	3,195.00	£63.90	7,857,524
1975	3,387.80	£67.76	307.00	£6.14	1,168,743	3,177.90	£63.56	6,688,781
1976	4,210.30	£84.21	340.00	£6.80	1,153,050	3,909.28	£78.19	6,954,365
1977	4,963.70	£99.27	324.00	£6.48	1,134,138	4,826.75	£96.54	7,196,275
1978	5,644.90	£112.90	354.51	£7.09	1,119,528	5,421.37	£108.43	7,612,534
1979	6,074.00	£121.48	466.01	£9.32	1,125,771	5,767.89	£115.36	8,012,446
1980	7,623.90	£152.48	637.72	£12.75	1,145,574	7,225.53	£144.51	8,191,767
1981	22,722.50	£454.45	635.45	£12.71	1,105,825	23,624.04	£472.48	8,296,381
1982	24,427.50	£488.55	786.20	£15.72	1,109,489	26,256.29	£525.13	8,417,879
1983	29,760.20	£595.20	730.40	£14.61	1,125,178	30,390.48	£607.81	8,373,497
1984	31,625.90	£632.52	791.00	£15.82	1,140,538	31,992.78	£639.86	8,484,267
1985	32,179.30	£643.59	820.20	£16.40	1,133,543	32,655.59	£653.11	8,559,951

Sources: Department of Academic and Curricula Development, the Ministry of Education, 1950-1963;
Department of National Statistics, 1964-1980;
Office of General Education, MOE, 1981-1985.

As shown in table 9, in the accounts of finance provided by the government for educational provision, the educational budget consists of "educational expenditure". Expenditure for educational provision which the state has to spend annually comprises the financial subsidy to certain private schools and the budgetary allocation for public schools. Clearly, the amount of budgetary allocation has increased year by year; it follows this pattern as it has been dependent on the ever increasing costs of economic factors such as adjustment of officials' salaries, the size of educational projects, and the larger number of pupil in schools. [The post 1985 budgetary allocations for educational provision are shown in Table 10.]

According to table 9, the budgetary allocation for private schools was rather low compared to that for public schools, both of which were calculated from the numbers of school attendees. This is due to discrepancies in the budget subsidy for private schools compared to that of public schools. This arises because in the private schools it funds, the state subsidises only 40% of the educational cost of the pupils. The other 60% of the educational cost to the private school is charged to parents of students. However, there is a ceiling put on the fee the schools are allowed to charge. Private schools which receive financial subsidy are only those schools established before the year 1974; private schools established after 1974 do not benefit from this. This means that private school fees vary but none can exceed the ceiling. Parents who enrol their children with private schools established before 1974 pay 60% of the educational cost. 60.51% of private schools receive financial subsidy from the government (Questionnaire, question no.1.5).

On the other hand, the government provides 100 % of the educational costs of public schools. It is important to note that parents who enrol their children in public primary schools do not have to pay a school fee, whereas at secondary education – lower, upper and vocational levels - a low level of school fees is charged. This is because the six years of primary education are compulsory; and are, therefore, provided free of charge in public schools. [The effects of different school fees will be discussed in the next section.] The budgetary allocation for educational provision in recent years can be seen in terms of operating and capital cost/expenditure and is displayed in table 10.

Table 10: Amount of operational and capital educational expenditures: fiscal years 1986-1995

Fiscal year	Operating expenditure		Capital expenditure (£1 = 50 baht)		Total expenditure (£1 = 50 baht)	
	Amount (million)	Percent	Amount (million)	Percent	Amount (million)	Percent
1986	£ 671.41	85.10	£ 117.36	14.90	£ 788.77	100
1987	£ 711.44	86.50	£ 110.78	13.50	£ 822.22	100
1988	£ 762.43	86.90	£ 114.78	13.10	£ 877.21	100
1989	£ 813.47	85.90	£ 133.70	14.10	£ 947.16	100
1990	£ 1,022.37	85.30	£ 176.87	14.70	£ 1,199.24	100
1991	£ 1,254.64	83.70	£ 243.83	16.30	£ 1,498.47	100
1992	£ 1,380.06	80.60	£ 333.23	19.40	£ 1,713.29	100
1993	£ 1,799.77	83.30	£ 361.62	16.70	£ 2,161.39	100
1994	£ 1,976.95	81.00	£ 462.51	19.00	£ 2,439.46	100
1995	£ 2,169.65	80.20	£ 536.53	19.80	£ 2,706.18	100

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Office of the Prime Minister Educational Statistics of Thailand, 1986-1995

As shown in Table 10, the outlay of the state during the consecutive fiscal years 1986-1995 are given as operational and capital educational expenditures. These were calculated on the basis of the aggregate budgetary allocation for public education plus a varying amount of subsidy to certain schools in the private sector.

Total expenditure is composed of two sorts, as follows:

(a) *Operating expenditure,* which refers to all costs incurred in educational administration, such as water, electricity, telephone, stationery, maintenance, and in consumable teaching and learning materials; plus the salaries and wages of teachers and school personnel.

(b) *Capital expenditure,* which refers to all the costs of procurement of office equipment, land, buildings and facilities.

It should be noted that between 1986 and 1995 the government provided the financial subsidies to private schools but it is not possible to tell exactly the proportion of the budgetary allocation for private school in comparison to public ones either by using subsidy method as presented in Table 9 or using operational and capital expenditures as shown in Table 10. This is because there have been fluctuations in the number of students in each year. The proportion of annual increasing adjustments set by the state are not stable, and the proportion of subsidies given to each level and type of school are different. It could be concluded, according to table 10, that between 1986 and 1995 the operating costs ranged from 80.20% to 86.90% of the total budgetary allocation for educational provision, while the capital expenditures ranged from 13.10% to 19.80% of the total expenditure. But all these expenditures were not only for formal education but also included non-formal and special education.

The educational budgetary allocation is mostly for compulsory primary education as the government is committed to taking responsibility for this area. Since 90 per cent of primary school pupils are in free public schooling the government allocates most of its educational budget to these individuals. For this reason, the Government was trying to encourage the private sector to participate at other levels of education.

By co-operating with the private sector, the state would have benefited by saving 100% on the capital investment costs and 60% on the operating costs of schools which are run privately. Thus the sum saved can be used for urgent or necessary measures, such as those which arise from unpredictable circumstances such as the recent economic crisis in 1997.

It could be argued that without a helping hand from the private sector, the total amount of educational expenditure the government would have to spend would rise annually. In 1995, for instance, the government extended more educational opportunity to provincial and rural areas which needed higher quality standards and thereby encouraged private participation. The cabinet agreed a policy of encouraging private sector investment in human resources; therefore, a capital of 20,000 million Baht or £ 400 million was set up to provide a loan system which was expected to attract new investors to establish new private schools (OPEC, 1994).

> This loan is for an investor who wishes to build a new school outside Bangkok. It offers to any level of education. It is based on 50:50 investment - the owner invests 50% and receives a 50% loan for the building, not a piece of land. However this policy still does not work well because the new entrepreneurs have not been informed that this is available. To be considered for the loan, the Ministry of Education requires a feasibility study. This seems an obstacle for new investors to complete it because it is time-consuming and requires staff to research this project. During the participation in the MOE in 1997 only one vocational school was interested in receiving this loan. (Author's field research note, between August 1996 and September 1997)

Government policy since 1986 towards the private sector was announced in the House of Parliament; it has laid emphasis on improving and enhancing the academic standard and encouraging the expansion of private participation. The expansion should be at such a level as is suitable to provide public school facilities and also meet the requirements of the labour market in the country. The encouragement of private participation may take the form of financial assistance to schools, and other measures similar to previous policies. [Indeed, there remains no difference between previous and present government policies because the policy for encouraging more private participation from 1986 till now 1997 repeated a similar notion: improving quality and encouraging more private participation, but there is no operating plan for supporting it. All mentioned policies seems to be for pre 1974 schools.] The policies have still reiterated the same approach to administration, academic matters, morale and motivation, and social welfare for private school staffs.

Owing to the 12-year basic education plan in the Constitution of Thailand of 1997 which was adopted in October 1997 (Thailand, 1997), it has been predicted that the government will have to provide more school facilities to cater for the high demand for school places created by the increasing numbers of schoolchildren. In order to achieve this goal, the state will have to be responsible, at the very least, for all procurement and maintenance costs, such as land, school facilities, and teaching and non-teaching staff. However, the total amount of required education provision is still substantial even if the investment and services of the private sector are not taken into account. It is predicted that the government will be unable to cope with the high investment which will be incurred in the short run if it takes on the task of full education provision without expanding the private sector. The net gain as a result of private participation is not only the saving of government expenditure, but can be expressed in terms of social obligations for the private sector to share this responsibility.

The author suggests that a dual-system is suitable for Thai education, and that the state should not replace private participation. This means that responsibility for education in the future may not only be the duty of the government but also the private sector. In the future, this constitutes a net gain could be derived from encouraging greater private participation. It is clear, therefore, that if the state can attract private participation in education, the government will be in an advantageous position to save on the national budgetary allocation. For instance in 1996 in private sector, there were 626,000 primary pupil, 160,000 lower secondary students, 38,000 upper secondary and 324,000 vocational students. Therefore, at least 1,148,000 of students or more, at all levels, would be in private schooling. The more private participation, the greater the amount of national budget that can be allocated to other urgent national economic needs. (This will be discussed in greater detail in the next following chapters 6 and 7.)

Whilst the government has a policy of accelerating the expansion of education provision to a twelve year compulsory level, which is mainly the responsibility of the state, it will have to allocate increasingly large amounts of the national budget to cope with the annual increase in the numbers of schoolchildren. [It needs to go through Parliament before it becomes law.] In the past between 1986 and 1995, the annual increase in the national budget has been in the region of 10-20 %. This has been achieved because of the growth of the economy, especially through the expansion and diversity of exports during the past decade. However, in the middle of 1997, the country is now facing a downward trend in the economy. This trend has been great and has seriously affected the growth of the country; moreover, it may last even longer if the undesirable effects of the normal business cycle[2] also occur.

In future, especially during the continued economic crisis expected between 1997-2001, therefore, the national budget is likely to be reduced accordingly, thereby, rendering it impossible to cope with the increase in the number of schoolchildren and school facilities in the short run. The government will have to develop alternative measures, such as private participation or additional budget, to cope with the demand for school provision. However, the willingness of the private sector to implement future government requirements will depend on many factors and conditions which will be discussed in the subsequent section. The future role of private participation in coping with the increase in numbers of schoolchildren will depend on a state policy, allowing it a greater role than at present, which in turn will depend on the measures implemented by present and future governments.

The government is pledged to eliminate disparities between those of different social and economic status by providing financial assistance to students from low-income families at all levels, in both public and private institutions, in order that they may gain better educational opportunities. In addition, although state schoolchildren have the privilege of exemption from tuition fees, some guardians and parents of

[2] The national economy has its fluctuation period, a time of boom and bust. Once the expansion reaches a peak, the downturn part of a cycle begins. This up and down economic movement is called a business cycle.

schoolchildren who can afford to pay, remain loyal to some private schools which have higher academic standards and better facilities.

Analysis of the factors affecting private participation

This is an analysis of the factors affecting private participation. It is based on parts of the data derived from the questionnaire, and supported by the author's experience in private school management. It illustrates the current situation, arising from many factors, which poses a challenge to private participation in the 12-year basic education plan.

1) The measures taken by the various implementing agencies of the state at different levels of management have tended to obstruct private operations and administrations. This is due to their frequent changes, and to the fact that most of them dictate so precisely each detail to be complied with that they cannot in practice be adopted by private schools where the environment and school culture differ from those of public schools. Unlike public schools, each private school has it own character; so it is contradictory for the private sector to manage them in the forms used for public school management.

In Thailand there are essentially five types of private school ownership. Most of samples (55.89%) are privately owned, 13.13% are leased, 13.13% are foundation owned, 10.77% are church owned and 7.07% are owned by private companies.

Table 11: Ownership of private schools

Ownership	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Privately owned	166	55.89
Leased	39	13.13
Foundation owned	39	13.13
Church owned	32	10.77
Private company owned	21	7.07
Total	297	100.00%

(question no. 1.3)

For clarification, "privately owned" can mean an individual or group owning land and school buildings. Some land and buildings may be leased for educational purposes. "Foundation owned" schools are different, since the owner donates the property to the state and establishes a fund for free education. "Church owned" means schools owned by religious institutions, such as the Roman Catholic Church.

The questionnaire found that the management of these private schools varies in form. Most (41.41%) are managed by school owners; 40.47% are managed by a school manager and head teacher; 3.76% by a church; 1.41% by a company; 12.94% by a school committee (Questionnaire, question no.1.4).

Table 12: Management of private schools

Management	*Numbers*	*Percent*
School owner	176	41.41
Manager, head teacher	172	40.47
Foundation	16	3.76
Company, holding company	6	1.41
Committee	55	12.94
Total	425[3]	100.00%

(question no. 1.4)

It is worth noting that the term "temple school", which was used in the previous chapters, was defined as a private school owned by a Buddhist temple. These schools provided Buddhist education, and then latter on offered a more general schooling. Instruction and curricula were varied because they were devised and delivered by the monks in each temple. Since the 1880s, in order to support the programme of compulsory primary education, the state has provided teachers and finance, and constructed school buildings within Buddhist temple areas. These schools have since become the property of, and are managed by, the state: the MOIA, Bangkok, and Pataya City. Currently all provide formal education using the MOE curricula. Such state schools in Buddhist temple's environs are familiarly referred to by Thais as temple schools.

[3] A school can have more than one type of management and ownership.

We have already mentioned that the research found that most private schools (37.38%) organise primary education, while 33.46% organise pre-primary. Conversely few private schools organise post primary education: 15.70% provide lower secondary education, 3.74% upper secondary level and 9.72% vocational study. Some private schools operate on more than one level of education - e.g. having pre-primary and primary levels in one school. (Questionnaire, question no. 1.2)

Table 13: Educational levels

Educational levels	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Pre-primary	179	33.46
Primary	200	37.38
Lower-secondary	84	15.70
Upper-secondary	20	3.74
Vocational study	52	9.72
Total	535[4]	100.00%

(question no. 1.2)

Since private schools are different, state measures have tended to create confusion and lack of confidence in the private sector as they attempt to comply with each specified detail. The state has continued to introduce various forms of control. Regulations concerning the supervision of private schools have had the effect of creating difficulties for some private administration in exercising control, especially in the smaller private schools, as mentioned in the earlier section. The two significant main measures affecting private school management are the annual adjustment of teachers' salaries and the control of school fees.

The annual adjustment of salaries of civil servants and state schoolteachers, as well as the annual increase in basic wages in the country have significantly influenced the increase in salaries and wages of private teachers and school personnel. The private sector has to comply with this annual adjustment, since it is the rule laid down by the

[4] A school can have more than one level of education.

MOE and it falls under the labour law. This has caused higher operational costs for private management, and often they are not willing to pay their staff higher salaries than this level. However, if they wish to pay more than the minimum level, they are allowed to do so.

Although this annual increase is offset by the increase in annual school fees approved by the MOE, it does not seem to have improved the financial situation of the private schools since these annual increases in fees tend to drive the children of poorer parents to enter public schools. The author's experience shows that parents from different economic statuses enrol their children in private schools. There are many reasons behind why they prefer private schools. They may like staff, teaching and learning methods. Most private schools provide English as a subject in each level, from pre-primary education while the state schools only provide it from grade five. Parents may prefer school locations, facilities and more flexible regulations for their children. For example, female primary pupils in a public school are not allowed to wear long hair. The poorer group normally from agricultural or unskilled labouring professions cannot afford the private school fee so their children are enrolled in public schools. Whereas the more affluent groups may send their children to well-known private schools despite the higher fee. Although the lower and intermediate groups have limited salaries, and normally cannot afford to own houses, they pay the rent monthly. Nevertheless, they do not wish their children to mix with those from the lower economic stratum; so they choose private schools with less famous names and lower fees which they can afford.

Debts incurred as a result of non-payment of annual school fees by parents of the poorer classes are prevalent especially in the small private schools. This occurs because parents cannot afford the higher expenses caused by fees that increase annually, the higher expenditure within their families, or the extra cost of enrolling younger children. For such parents, public schools seem to offer an obvious choice, as they charge no fees and provide free learning materials at the primary level, as well as

charging much lower fees than the private sector at secondary level. This financial difficulty often causes children to discontinue their studies at the same school, forcing them to dropout or transfer to public schools.

Debts are not the only problem faced by private schools. The main problem seems to centre on competition. 19.26% of respondents see this as taking place with state schools and private schools while 15.21% see competition with other private schools as more pressing. Low quality of school applicants concerns 12.34%, low quality of teachers affects 16.38%, while only 5.53% consider the teaching methods imposed by the Ministry of Education as the greatest problem. Debts actually only amount to 10.64% of the respondents' main complaints, although non-payment of school fees over a long period is higher at 14.89%. 5.74% of respondents cited "other problems" as their number one concern.

Table 14: Problems of priority

Problems of priority	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Competition with state schools	181	19.26
Competition with private schools	143	15.21
Low quality of school applicants	116	12.34
Low quality of teachers in some subjects	154	16.38
Problems in teaching methods imposed by MOE curriculum	52	5.53
Bad debt	100	10.64
Non-payment for long period	140	14.89
Others	54	5.74
Total	940	100.00%

(question no. 3)

The control of private school fees has also had a significant impact on the expansion of private schools. Private school fees are fixed and are only allowed to increase annually by an amount based on the total operational cost per public schoolchild; no account is taken of the annual increase in the capital expenditure of the private sector. These school fees are controlled by OPEC. The increase is based on the annual inflation rate of the country and ranges from 5 to 7 per cent of the annual school fees.

Essentially the school fees charged by the private schools only cover their operational costs, whereas the capital expenditure has to be acquired by other means. Examples of these are selling food to the schoolchildren or by charging parents extra money on the first day of admission. Since the charging of "extra money" for a place in a school is illegal, the term has been changed to a "donation" to avoid the law.

Parents are usually only willing to contribute towards the cost of school buildings in a large, famous or high quality school. Private schools with simple looking classrooms similar to the basic facilities found in public schools, and small private schools without a famous name, especially those schools which are not renowned for being academically competitive, are unable to raise contributions from the parents. If these small schools cannot build up their reputation for quality, they tend to close down in the short run, whereas the small schools with state subsidies may stay in business in the long run even though they produce poor quality graduates.

2) Regulations concerning schoolchildren's enrolment at lower secondary level in public schools, for instance, have changed annually during the five years from 1994 to 1999. The result has been that some pupils are not able to continue their studies in the public schools in which they intended to enrol.

It is important to understand the general practice involved in secondary enrolment, especially when private primary pupils intend to study at a state or a private lower secondary level. Normally, in well-known state secondary schools, an applicant will be considered for admission based on either the first or both of the following requirements: 1) high grade point average in all subjects at primary level, and/or high grade points in Mathematics, Thai language, Science and English; 2) higher scores than other applicants in a secondary school entrance examination. These rules allow schools to select applicants on the basis of academic quality. By contrast, less famous

state and private schools, where places are available, will admit applicants without any conditions.

A new rule[5] lasting from 1994 to 1999 concerning enrolment in the public lower secondary schools is specified eligibility depending on the proximity of the school to the place of residence. The limit is fixed at a radius of five kilometres. The new regulation set annually by the Ministry of Education has changed accordingly as shown in Table 15.

Table 15: Enrolment regulation for public lower secondary schools

Academic year	By proximity (Percent)	By examination (Percent)	By donation (Percent)
1994	60	40	10
1995	60	40	10
1996	70	30	10
1997	80	20	10
1998	90	10	10
1999	100	0	10

Source: Mathichon newspaper, 30 December 1998, page 10

In table 15, by this new enrolment policy all public lower secondary schools, but none at other levels have to follow this enrolment rule set by the Ministry of Education. All private schools can manage on their own policies. The author's experience shows that in practice public schools normally accept the first group of applicants according to the proximity regulation – this includes the students who make transitions to higher level within the school if the school has a primary level. Thereafter when enrolment numbers reach the proportion according to the rule, a second group of students is selected by an entrance examination arranged by each school. However the rule

[5] This is to help resolve traffic congestion in cities.

allows public schools to give first priority to some 10% students/applicants who make donations to the schools. By this new enrolling policy even intelligent and well-qualified pupils from some private schools, whose residences are more than five kilometres distance from a given public school are not allowed to enrol in it. Those children living within the radius have priority for enrolment.

The new regulation aims to provide educational equality for all and to mix the poorer class with the medium and well-off classes; so that any pupil who has completed primary education, regardless of classes taken or graduated scores, has the same right to enter even a well-known public school by virtue of living in its immediate vicinity. In effect the enrolment qualification will be residence, Because of this new enrolment; no academic requirements are to be considered; consequently this policy affects pupils' incentive in achieving high academic scores throughout the education system.

It may be that since all primary pupils have an equal educational opportunity to enter state lower-secondary schools, they will feel relaxed in their studies. However, on the other hand, they are equally likely to that feel there is no incentive to study hard to achieve good scores, and no need to compete with others at primary and lower secondary levels.

The result of this is that the quality of primary school pupils will probably decline. Moreover, it is foreseen that more schoolchildren are likely to enter the vocational stream when they complete lower secondary level, as inadequate basic knowledge will lead to a low grade point average preventing pupils from continuing their studies in general stream. This is because applicants who wish to study at upper secondary level in the general stream will be have to meet the two-entry requirements – 1) high grade point average in all subjects and 2) higher scores than other applicants in a school entrance examination. Consequently, they will have to continue their studying in vocational or technical education instead.

Some who fail in both requirements will not be accepted by any school so they have to discontinue their studies or study in the non-formal schooling system. It should be noted that in non-formal education, students study at home and are not required to attend any classes. There are three levels: primary, lower secondary and upper secondary; so there are three examinations in this system. This makes it possible for one to complete all levels in three years. Students have to pass an annual examination to make a transition to higher levels. The pass requirement is quite low, only requiring a minimum of 50% all subjects. Students who fail in some subjects will be allowed to re-sit the particular subjects in the next year. When they pass all the subjects they complete the educational level. However, due to these low standards, graduates from non-formal education normally have a low academic achievement. The author's experience shows that those who complete it lack academic capability. They may be able to communicate and understand basic contexts but may not understand Thai written language properly.

At the same time the rest of the students who are permitted to continue their studies in the same school may achieve relatively poor academic results and lack academic competitive skills due to academic weakness at primary level; thus, they may not qualify or pass the entrance examination into a state university as these limit the number of places. Large numbers of students of low academic ability may cause unexpected future social problems.

It should worth mentioning that most vocational subjects are different from those in upper secondary level. Students from vocational or commercial fields do not have academic competencies in mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics, English and social sciences. Upper secondary students, on the other hand, do not learn electronics, mechanics or commercial fields. It is, therefore, upper secondary students who will try for state universities, whereas those from vocational ones will enrol in private, or state vocational colleges, known as Ratchamongkol institutions. All institutions have entrance examinations.

Thailand does not have an automatic entry system at university level. This is because state universities do not have enough places for all upper secondary students. Students can choose the field in which they wish to study. Normally they wish to study medicine, engineering and chemistry which are in high demand by the labour market. The chance to enter a university is restricted because one applicant can specify not more than 3 choices of course field and university e.g. medicine, Chulalongkorn university; medicines, Chiengmai university; and engineering, Chulalongkorn university. They have to compete with other students in a national entrance examination. Few state universities and only one private university offer these subjects; the rest offer social sciences.

Even once the examination has passed, a place may not be assured if other applicants have achieved higher scores. Since courses such as engineering and science will only give places to those with the highest scores in the entrance exam, students are often discouraged from applying for these courses in the fear of being rejected. To avoid failure, rather than attempt to gain a place to study science or engineering at university, students will opt for social science courses. This is a safer option as there is more assurance that the students will be offered a place. If students cannot get places in state universities, they normally attend private universities or state open universities, which mainly offer other subjects such as law, economics, social studies and political sciences.

It is, therefore, only higher grade point average students who pass the exam to study at a university level. Their numbers will not be adequate to supply the workforce urgently needed in fields such as engineering, science and medicine. The consequences is that the majority of students with lower scores will be in social sciences, due to their lower academic competency, and this may, therefore, result in an excess of graduates in these disciplines.

Even though private primary schools are seen by parents as offering good academic prospects, the absence of an entrance examination for lower secondary will mean that there is no need to prepare children to compete for it. Parents may shift their children to public schools. This new enrolment policy will in turn lead to a decrease in the number of private schools in the short run.

3) Although the state sees the advantage of encouraging private participation in education, the government has no clear policy on enrolment in public schools, especially at pre-primary level.

It is a fact that pre-primary education is necessary for children of 3-5 years. Lockheed and Verspoor suggest that public pre-primary schooling should be provided for only those underprivileged children, but state schooling should not compete with the private one. (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991).

The private sector has to recruit schoolchildren by itself. It has to attract parents by making them aware of the higher academic competency of private schools over state schools. The first enrolment is significant for private school business since these children attend a three-year pre-primary course, then continue on to a higher educational level.

By contrast, it seems to be a general practice for public schools to recruit just the number of children needed to supply their own schools when these children reach primary level age. A contradictory situation exists in which public primary schools have one-year pre-primary classes for this purpose. Since pre-primary education is not compulsory, it is not the state primary schools' business to provide free education. Thus, the state has to extract the educational budget from the other levels

to fund the educational costs of these schoolchildren. It is also the public schools which have to devote school facilities intended for primary pupils to these children.

While this causes uncertainty for private school business, it creates ambiguity for parents since there are a variety of curricula. Some public schools offer two-year pre-primary courses, but others have a one-year course; private schools, by contrast, follow the MOE curriculum and offer three-year pre–primary schooling. It may seem that the better quality schools can prepare their children for primary schools in one year, whereas the lower quality schools need one or two years in addition. It also produces a negative image of the private schools since it seems that the private schools tend to keep their children for a unnecessarily long longer periods and charge high fees for doing so.

4) The increase or decrease in the national budgetary allocation for public school facilities depends on other priorities which the government determines on a yearly basis, depending on the annual economic situation of the country. The government, therefore, cannot fully guarantee in advance the total budgetary allocation requested by the implementing agencies. This poses a severe dilemma.

The dilemma arises because the economy of the country depends on the export of a few key agricultural products, such as rice, rubber and frozen foods which are sensitive to changes in the world market. The fluctuation of these exports determines the size of the national budget. When the economy is strong, a larger portion of the budget can be set aside for educational purposes. For instance, during the 1990s Thailand enjoyed an average annual growth in GDP of 7 per cent per annum (NESDB,1992); therefore, there was an expansion of public schools.

Since basic education has been expecting to cover the lower and upper secondary education and vocational level, this indicates that in the future the government will have full responsibility for providing all school facilities. The requirements for schooling and budgeting will thus rapidly increase and tend to outstrip the state's capacity.

During the 1990s the expansion of basic education in terms of schools has been so rapid that the private sector has no knowledge of the magnitude of the competition it faces, resulting in the reduction of the private schoolchildren. The expansion of public schools at all levels, especially at the compulsory primary and at lower secondary levels, which is not compulsory, has deprived the private schools of enrolment. This has had a significant impact on the private sector since schoolchildren have tended to shift to public schools, which charge no fees or lower fees at secondary level. Further more children seem to make a transition within the same school. In particular, in the remote rural areas, this scheme has encouraged the schoolchildren of the less-privileged classes to attend public schools, since these schoolchildren are supported with free education and supplied with textbooks, exercise books, learning materials, school uniforms, free-lunch programmes, and, in some remote areas, bicycles.

The larger public secondary schools appear to provide the same or even better quality teaching than those of the private sector. On the other hand the older and larger private schools tend to exceed the new or smaller private schools in terms of quality of teaching. This has led to smaller numbers of schoolchildren attending the smaller private schools, and has thus reduced their income.

These smaller private schools have been unable to maintain themselves since their expenditures are higher than their incomes. In an effort to survive, they have tended to decrease the quality of teaching and personnel. Teachers with poorer qualifications, inexperienced teachers, or teacher trainees who use lower quality teaching methods and can be paid less have been recruited instead.

This has resulted in lowering the morale of all teachers in the private sector as they fail to comply with the school teaching regulations set forth by OPEC. Disputes between teachers and the school owners have been common. Their frequency has prompted OPEC to introduce measures to protect teachers that in turn have caused economic and managerial depression for the private schools. This is a practical dilemma for the school owners, as they have to cut the expenses of the schools in order to survive and at the same time keep the adverse impact on teaching quality to a minimum. Disciplinary rules for teachers have had to be developed and established in these schools, especially in the small and medium sized ones.

5) The change in the method of subsidy from a calculation based on the number of teachers to one based on the number of pupils has reduced the amount of state subsidy granted to private schools. This seems to be an easier way to calculate the amount of financial subsidies, 40% of the state's annual school fees multiplied by the number of students. If it is based on teacher salaries, the calculation would be 40% of the different rates of teacher's salaries multiplied by the number of teachers in each school. Since the new subsidy method is based on the number of schoolchildren, the greater their number, the higher the amount of subsidy received. This is putting pressure on small private schools (14.49%) which have less than 300 pupils (Questionnaire, question no.1.1), due to part enrolment.

The author' s professional experience shows that some of these small private schools are barely able to recruit more pupils because of their locations. Some are situated in lightly populated areas where the number of children is limited. Some are located in areas where people have low purchasing power, and therefore cannot increase their enrolment because poorer people enrol their children at public schools. Some that are surrounded by public schools or other private schools have to compete for enrolments with these neighbouring schools.

As noted before only those private schools established before 1974 receive a subsidy, and then only for 40% of the operational costs. The main reason for this is that the government has not had any reason to depend on private sector involvement at the compulsory primary level. When the state saw that the education provision of both public and private sectors could provide sufficient school facilities, the government decided to stop financial subsidies to the private schools that opened after 1974, even though the private schools established after 1974 have been allowed to register and provide education on the same basis as those established before 1974. Thus, these schools have to charge 100 % of the educational operating costs to parents.

This makes their school fee higher than those established before 1974 and it is a significant factor in causing the decline of the private schools. New private entrepreneurs who start schools without knowing that the state subsidises only those private schools established before 1974, and who wish to compete with the subsidised private schools by increasing the quality of education they offer according to the advice of OPEC and of the MOE, are not on an equal footing with respect to the amount of profit that they can make on their business. In effect, their businesses will become non-profit making. It was found that 44.07% of private schools have adequate finance to cover operating costs, whereas 22.59% have inadequate amounts (Questionnaire, question no. 2), to cover the fixed cost e.g. property, land and building.

It should be noted here that since 1982 the state has aimed to provide an equal footing for all private schools by introducing universal financial subsidises through the office of the NEC (NEC, 1982b; c). On 18 October 1988, the Prime minister and the Cabinet agreed, in principle, that all schools were to be financially subsidised (NEC, 1988b). However, this policy has not been legitimated by the House of Parliament.

The author's experience shows that the pre-1974 private schools and the post-1974 ones receive the same amount of income overall per student; however, the post-1974 schools cannot compete with the pre-1974 in enrolment numbers since the parents tend to enrol their children in the subsidised private schools as the fee is 40% lower. Thus, even when other things are equal for the parents, the newly established schools have less of a competitive edge against the old schools. In addition certain parents tend to send their children to the renowned schools and those administered by the state since they are academically superior. At the same time, parents pay much less than for private schools, while the standard of teaching is equal or better than at the private ones, especially the less famous ones. Parents desire the honour and status that accompany the acceptance of their children by one of these highly competitive state schools.

6) Although in theory, the new private schools are supposed to provide higher quality teaching and a greater quantity of learning facilities, in accordance with the recommendations of OPEC and the MOE, the quality should have led greater enrolment but this principle does not work in real life. This is because most Thais are poor (NESDB, 1992); therefore, lower fees are their first consideration. Although the new private schools seek to compete with the pre 1974 private schools, principally because they are allowed to charge the parents 100 %, the fact is that parents cannot afford this even though they would like their children to go to these new schools which appear to have higher academic standards. This finding suggests why most private schools in the samples (86.96%) incur 5-10% debt annually (Questionnaire, question no. 2.3).

Table 16: Bad debt

Bad debt	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Bad debt (5-10 % per annum)	240	86.96
Total	276	100.00%

(question no. 2.3)

Parents sometimes enrol children for one year, but then these children have to be deregistered when the parents realise that they will be unable to pay the school fees in full latter on. As a result only children from higher economic class or affluent families are able to enter these new private schools. This means that the schools have to be located in the well-established or high-density areas, such as Bangkok or the municipalities in rural areas.

It is a fallacy for private school operators to suppose that the quality of their school can be broadcast in a mere one or two years. Experience of the author shows that it is probable that the quality of teaching or quality of a school will only become known after the first pupils have finished their entire schooling, which is at least seven years for primary, a further three years for lower secondary, and three more years for upper secondary schools. This means that a good reputation can only be promoted after a minimum of seven years. During the preceding six years the school must survive without the aid of a reputation. Parents will only willingly flock to these new schools after at least ten years of consistently good results. The problem is how to sustain the losses of these ten years before money can be ploughed back in. It is crucial for the new schools to understand the problems that they face before they get trapped in a non-profit maze.

As mentioned earlier, two thirds of the tuition fee income will be has to be spent on teacher salaries. The remaining one thirds may be used in full to cover other expenses such as electricity, telephone bills, office materials, maintenance, welfare and others. It is, therefore, the case that the income from school fees is inadequate for private

schools, and the annual increase of the tuition fees is rather small. Since most of this income has spent on operating costs, it cannot cover fixed costs. This makes a school run out of profit. The situation would be even worse if the school has a loan from a commercial bank. There is a real risk of not being able to repay the loan in the time frame.

It is, therefore, the case that the income from school fees is inadequate for private schools, and the annual increase of the tuition fees – around 5% each year - is rather small. The research found that private schools in the samples have to complement their resources by acquiring other sources of incomes, mainly by selling learning materials to school children (26.08%), selling lunch to schoolchildren (21.31%), leasing spaces for shops (12.93%), donations (10.66%), extra curricular and school activities (6.80%) and a category of "other practices" (22.22%). (Questionnaire, question no. 2.2)

Table 17: Sources of major income

Sources of major income	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Donation	47	10.66
Selling lunch to schoolchildren	94	21.31
Extra curricular activities	30	6.80
Leasing spaces for shops	57	12.93
Selling learning materials	115	26.08
Others	98	22.22
Total	441	100.00%

(question no. 2.2)

The author's experience shows that the sources of income can be from any programme depending upon the school. However, they must comply with the regulations set by the Ministry of Education. At pre-primary level light meals in the morning and in the afternoon, and a lunch programme are needed for pupils, where at higher level a lunch programme may be required for pupils/students. Selling learning materials such as textbooks can be arranged at the beginning of the year or terms as

school services rather than as a profit making operation. However, the school is able to buy the materials at a reduced rate but will sell them to the parents at the original price. This practice can generate a profit of about 10-25%, depending on the amount of purchases.

Private tuition, in private or in groups, at school in the evening or weekends is not allowed by the MOE. By contrast it seems to be a general practice which may be operated by the school or by somebody who rents the school at particular times for special tuition.

To reduce educational expenditures, private school operators suggested that the state should provide tax exemption on the following: school property and land (33.31%), teacher and staff income (26.32%), vehicle transport tax on school buses (21.03%) and income associated with school activities (16.98%) (Questionnaire, question no. 5).

Table 18: Tax exemption

Tax exemption	*Numbers*	*Percent*
School property and land tax	201	31.31
Teacher/staff income tax	169	26.32
Vehicle transport tax	135	21.03
Income associated with school activities	109	16.98
Others	28	4.36
Total	642	100.00%

(question no. 5)

In addition, there is significant evidence that some of the pre 1974 private schools in urban areas have been voluntarily closed down. They have made way for new business ventures that offered higher rates of return on school land, such as hotels, banking, offices, shopping centres and condominiums. The old schools once located in less densely-populated areas have now become surrounded by skyscrapers. The price of their land has at least doubled and, in the case of some schools, gone up by as

much as ten-fold annually, during the 1990s. These old schools have also been closing down as a result of urbanisation. Initiatives by these private school owners to relocate and start up new schools seem to be rare because they all recognise that a private school business requires high investment, has a limited low income, takes time to achieve results, and has difficulty in competing with public schools.

7) Private schools have to pay the salaries and wages of schoolteachers and personnel, which normally increase faster than the rate of profit so that the schools have no reserve fund for capital expansion, for buildings or for new teaching equipment.

According to the regulations on the establishment of new schools introduced by OPEC, based on the idea that quality will bring in schoolchildren, new schools are required to invest in large capacity outlay in terms of good surroundings and modern teaching and learning equipment, such as computer sites. For example, the number of computers is required to be equal to the number of students in one standard classroom, normally 40. The reserve fund also has to be used to cover depreciation and the cost of new high technology. Hence, improvements in management and school facilities cannot be realised.

Although the government provides a 40 % subsidy for schools established before 1974, these schools are still unable to maintain the same standard as before, since this 40 % subsidy only covers the operational costs, without providing a reserve fund for modern teaching aids. It is generally believed that the expense of school businesses is different from that of other commercial businesses, such as import and export firms which can double or triple their incomes without having to increase their office space. School profits, on the other hand, depend on increases in the number of classrooms with an optimum number of children for each class.

When it comes to a question of what the optimum number of students per class is that could make it financially manageable, the answer depends at what educational level the school is operating, the fee the school is allowed to charge, and how much expenditure the school has. One cannot tell exactly since each school is different. Schiefelbien and Simmons (1981) suggest increasing class size in order to gain more income. The author' s experience shows that at least sixty pupils/students in one class at all levels, with the standard school ceiling permitted by the MOE, and with normal expenses based on MOE's academic standard, would make it possible for the school to make a profit in the long run. [The normal expenses and standard means the school has adequate facilities as specified by the MOE e.g. desks, chairs, blackboard and lighting, but not something special e.g. computer facilities.] However, this will decrease the quality of teaching and learning due to the increased number of children per class. At upper secondary and vocational levels it is possible to have sixty pupils/students in one class, but a smaller number of pupils/students in a class e.g. 10-20 is obviously better in terms of academic quality.

Since school investment requires a large capital outlay for which they have no reserve fund, those entering this business must be economically very fit and efficient. Once again the rules become a barrier preventing the private sector from entering this business, especially since they have to invest in complete facilities before their schools are licensed to open. This tends to discourage private entrepreneurs from investing in the future.

When the private operators were asked about future expansion for supplying 12-year basic education, 56.16% of private school operators said that they would possibly expand their school facilities for the 12-year basic education, whereas 43.84 % said that they would not expand. In addition, Lawal (1992) reported that between 1977 and 1990 the number of subsidised private schools has decline to 57.4% of the total. This seems to be a problem for the state if the private schools are not willing to expand and the existing subsidised private schools are declining. It will also become a problem for the twelve-year basic educational programme because the target for

achieving it has been set for the year 2001. If these private schools do not expand their facilities to support secondary education, the government will have to invest heavily to create this provision. It may also overrun the state educational reform timetable.

Table 19: Future expansion to supply 12-year basic education

Future expansion	*Numbers*	*Percent*
Yes	155	56.16
No	121	43.84
Total	276	100.00%

(question no. 1.7)

Concerning the conditions of expansion for 12-year basic education, the research found that 58.68% of subsidised private schools in the samples show their intention for expanding school facilities, while 59.63% of non-subsidised private schools may expand their schools without state financial subsidy, and 57.52% may be capable of expansion with state financial subsidy (Questionnaire, question no. 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10).

Table 20: Conditions for expansion

Conditions for expansion	*Yes*		*No*		*Total*	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
Subsidised schools,	98	58.68	69	41.32	167	100%
Non-subsidised schools, if state does not subsidise	65	59.63	44	40.37	109	100%
Non-subsidised schools, if state subsidises	65	57.52	48	42.48	113	100%

(question no. 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10)

The author's professional experience shows that these subsidised schools are those established before 1974; so most of them are widely recognised by people in the areas; they normally have full student enrolment in each class and are willing to expand their schools to support the basic education. This is because they expected

their students to transfer to their higher level. Some of these may not be able to expand their facilities because the limit of their land or they may not find a budget for investment. Whereas most non-subsidised private schools (65%) show they have the their possibility to expand their facilities for supporting the 12-year basic education with or without state financial subsidies. Whereas the rest will not expand with or with out financial subsidies. This suggests that the state policy for encouraging more private participation is not as attractive for the existing private schools as would be hoped. These schools have experienced that it is risky and time consuming to invest heavily in new school buildings and resources. If they expand their schools, there is no guarantee from the state that they will have more enrolment.

8) The turnover in the numbers of schoolteachers in private schools is relatively high compared to those in public schools, since the experienced teachers in the private schools tend to be picked off by the public schools and other government departments. Moreover, teachers working in public schools receive better fringe benefits than those in the private schools, especially with regard to their pension schemes. Public teachers receive a pension fund after retiring, whereas those in the private sector receive only a provident fund at the age of 60, a lump sum payment on retirement, which is much less than the pension. The pension is two thirds of the previous salary, and is paid monthly for life.

The research findings indicate that many private schools agree on four major aspects: 1) the state should provide financial subsidy for all private schools, (22.52%); 2) private teachers should benefit from pension funds in the same way as state teachers (28.09%); 3) the state should enrol teachers and distribute them to private schools (19.18%); 4) private schools should be able to access, through the state, the Internet and satellite educational programmes (26.36%) (Questionnaire, question no. 4).

Table 21: Suggestions

	Numbers	*Percent*
State should provide financial subsidy for all private schools	182	22.52
Private teachers should benefit from pension fund in the same way as state teachers	227	28.09
State should enrol teachers and distribute them to private schools	155	19.18
Private schools should be able to access the Internet And satellite educational programmes provided by state agencies	213	26.36
Others	31	3.84
Total	808	100.00%

(question no. 4)

Each suggestion can be elaborated according to the author's experience as follows: (i) All private schools were informed by OPEC that the financial subsidising would have been made possible in 1989, but this did not happen. There were many attempts to subsidise all private schools for a decade (between 1989 and 1999) but none succeeded. If this subsidy had been made available, it would have helped not only parents through lower school fees but this lower fee would have attracted more students and would have led to more enrolment. By contrast the subsidy has shifted to Islamic teaching schools where non-formal education is provided. This discouraged all existing private schools despite the state's encouragement to participate in the 12-year basic education programme.

(ii) Private teachers should benefit from pension funds in the same way as state teachers (28.09%) (Questionnaire, question no. 4). The author's experience shows that private schoolteachers may feel that since they have the same occupation as those public schoolteachers, they should have he same benefit. However it can be argued that this seems to be an issue of ideology and can hardly to be accept by the state. Private teachers are not under civil servant law like public schoolteachers so they cannot benefit from a pension fund. Another possibility, other than changing the law, is for the teacher council to set up some fund for private teachers.

(iii) Another proposal is that the state could enrol teachers and distribute them to private schools (19.18%) (Questionnaire, question no. 4). This finding suggests that private teacher enrolment is a problem. The author's experience shows that since state schoolteachers have more benefit than the private ones, many wish to work within the public schools. Once they pass the exams for recruitment, however, the positions may not be immediately available, and their names will be put on a waiting list. During this period these people will search for temporary jobs in private schools but will resign immediately if a position in a state school becomes available. This causes a high rate of teachers' transferring all year round in private schools, which causes difficulties for private school management. It is not surprising that private schools raise this issue.

On top of this, teachers in the public schools have more honour, prestige and privilege as a consequence of being government civil servants. These public teachers only leave employment on reaching the compulsory retirement age (sixty years), whereas private teachers serve an indefinite term of appointment and may be sacked at any time depending on the financial situation of the schools.

(iv) Private schools should be able to access, through the state, the Internet and satellite educational programmes (26.36%) (Questionnaire, question no. 4). It can be argued that private schools seem to want access to better sources of teaching and learning resources that are available only for public schools. They should have the same opportunity as public schools. This will create more economic efficiency for sharing educational resources.

The trend of private participation in the twelve-year basic education

Although the state agencies have continued to insist that they are encouraging private participation at all levels, as stated in a series of national social and economic development plans from Plan 6 (1987-1991) to Plan 8 (1997-2001), these policies have had little effect on increasing more private participation; the number of private schools providing formal education is still not increasing. In fact, it decreased from 2,922 schools in 1986 to 2,315 schools in 1994 (MOE, 1986; 1994).

Instead the main factor benefiting private education has been the increasing influence of English as a universal language, which has put pressure on the implementing agencies. The first move implemented in 1997 by the government agency to deal with this situation resulted in the inclusion of English, in the curriculum of mandatory education as a compulsory subject at all grades of state primary schools. Previously English had been compulsory only at grades five and six of the primary level.

It is important to note that English was not a subject in grades one to four in public primary schools. The low quality of English teaching results in low outcomes. Sukamonson (1990) analysed all the research, comprising 37 titles between 1972 and 1987, concerning English teaching at primary level in Thailand. He concluded that all of that research suggested that the quality of English teaching was unsatisfactory because teachers lacked teaching ability and had inadequate grammatical knowledge (Sukamonson, 1990). This generated low academic competency and ability in the subject of English among primary pupils. Pupils achieved low scores (40.24-50.03%) in listening ability and less than 50% in pronunciation (Uthawee, 1972). They had difficulties in reading comprehension since they were not familiar with English structures, and they had poor vocabularies (Keelar, 1981). Overall grammatical comprehension was moderate (between 50 and 60 % in a given test) (Srisawatpong, 1982), while ability in general usage varied (38.74% to 69.72%) according to the academic standard of each school (Perapo, 1982; Vorachaipitak, 1982).

The second move permitted "private international schools", which teach all subjects in English, to be established at all levels, especially between 1990 and 1995 when the Thai economy was booming. Some private schools teach the curriculum both in Thai and in English and this type of private school has become a "private bilingual school" The schoolchildren can choose the curriculum to suit them. Of course, the school fees for the English curriculum are much higher.

After the government resolution of 1992 that allowed the private sector to establish international schools, many foreigners and local investors were attracted to establish such schools in Bangkok and in urban areas throughout the country (MOE, 1996). This concept of international schools in English has flourished from pre-primary up to university level, but the majority concentrate on the pre-primary level. It should be noted that between 1995 and 1998 there were 28 general and 8 vocational private bilingual schools, and 34 private international schools in Thailand (MOE, 1998). None of these bilingual schools are newly established and all offer an English curriculum parallel with the Thai curriculum. The school fees for the English curriculum are higher than the Thai curriculum; for example the 1998 fee at Chutwit primary school was 120,000 Baht (£ 2,400) for one semester or 360,000 Baht (£ 7,200) per annum.

The international and bilingual school business attracts private entrepreneurs to invest and participate at all levels, as public schools cannot provide a curriculum in English. This is a new line of investment since the public schools are not in a position to provide services in English due to a lack of qualified teachers able to conduct lessons in that language.

From a financial point of view, what has attracted private participation in new schools, not only the popular international schools, but also the bilingual schools, which are mostly owned by local people, is not that they can provide a curriculum in English, but because the schools providing such an English curriculum can charge much higher fees than the schools that teach only the local Thai curriculum.

In 1998 the school fees charged by international schools are about ten to twenty times higher than those of the local schools. The international and bilingual school fees can vary since the government does not set a ceiling on them nor does it control matters relating to the quality of education or management aspects.

The Ministry of Education agreed that the international schools or bilingual schools were authorised to charge higher fees because they provide expatriate teachers and modern teaching and learning aids, and so forth, which require a large capital outlay. The development of private participation is, therefore, likely to be in this direction because the English curriculum schools can plough back larger profits than the Thai curriculum schools. Although the operational costs and capital expenditure of these English curriculum schools are higher, they are offset by charging higher school fees to foreign students.

After looking the evidence, the author would argue that the government should not control the fee in any types of private schools. Private schooling aims for business orientation. It is based on capitalism under a democratic system where business can find its opportunities depending upon demand and supply principles. Parents, as customers, will consider which type of schools they can afford. If the school fees are much too high and the quality they offer is considered unreasonable for the parents, they will not consider enrolment.

It seems to be an alternative for the existing private schools to provide the English curriculum so that they can gain more income. However the author's experience shows that not all private schools aim for the elite because there are not many of them. For an example, in 1996 a new international primary-secondary school with an intake capacity of 600, with boarding was established in Rayong province. It has shown an interest to be merged with my private primary school. This was to supply primary graduated pupils to their international lower secondary school. It was located near an industrial site that employed a large number of foreigners. The fee was reasonable [£2000 or £2500 with boarding], and it was fully advertised for three months on many media - newspapers, leaflets, advertising plates on the buses and via

television, it had expected one hundred pupils' enrolment in the beginning but it got only two pupils in the first year.

However, the local poorer schoolchildren from low to medium economic strata families are likely to be denied the opportunity of having this quality of education in the international schools since they are unable to afford the high school fees. Only those well-to-do people will be able to benefit from it. The poorer schoolchildren will tend to go to the public schools, whereas in the future, affluent children will go to the private international or bilingual schools. If this trend continues or increases, the gap in income disparity between poorer and richer parents will tend to widen in the next generation.

A cross-national study in sixty countries including 43 developing countries by Benavot shows that an expansion of basic education not only at primary level but also secondary level has a positive effect on both citizens and economic growth. This is because "its effects on the quality and productivity of the labour force and, consequently, on a nation's competitive position in the world economy" (Benavot (1992: 153).

Thailand is a newly industrialised country and is now trading globally in a world where English is acknowledged as an international language. If the government see the 12-year basic education programme as significant to Thailand's economic development, then it may be time to reconsider whether everyone should have the same opportunities for learning through the English curriculum. Creating greater national competency in English and, therefore, enabling Thais to participate more in the world community would surely be an advantage to the country as a whole.

As shown, private participation plays an important role in assisting the state in educational provision. It has helped the state with compulsory schooling when the state capacity could not cope with the high requirements imposed upon it. Moreover, the private sector has been responsible for inventing new school business and

management methods. It is widely recognised that private schools are trusted for their quality of education. This means that the private sector can coexist, in the long run by competing with public schools. Where they maintain good reputations for providing high educational quality standards for their schoolchildren, they have been used as models for the state to follow when setting up public schools.

However, although state policies have rendered some kind of assistance to the private sector, private schooling has had to modify its attitudes as a result of the changing policies of the various governments. Some of the policies have led to educational development, but others have led to a reduction in numbers and economic depression in the private sector.

In interviews with high ranking officials, Dr. Rung Kaewdaeng (1997), the secretary-general of the NEC, Dr. Amrung Chantavanich (1997), the previous deputy secretary-general of the NEC, Dr. Somnuk Pimonsatian (1997), the director of the Educational Planning Division, Budget Bureau, Ministry of Finance and Dr. Kowit Prawalpruk (1997), secretary-general of OPEC, they agreed that:

> The role of private participation is significant for the twelve-year basic education programme. This is because the government may not be in a position to supply solely all school facilities and finance for all the school age population in the short run. It is necessary to depend upon these private schools. In addition state schools still vary in academic standards and have problems in their quality (Author's field note based on participation observation in various governmental organisations, 1997).

By contrast, in an interview with Dr Savitee Suwansatit (1997), the deputy secretary-general of the MOE, she stated that

> The twelve-year basic education is the responsibility of the state according to the new constitution. The role of private participation is only the complement to state educational provision, and it is fading away. Especially at primary and lower secondary level, the state capacity can provide places for all the school age population, and it is not necessary to encourage the expansion of private schooling (Information from Savitee Suwansatith, the deputy secretary-general of the MOE, 1997).

The information obtained from interviewing the high-ranking officials shows an interesting aspect of educational management in Thailand. It indicates that there is a policy conflict between an educational planning agency (NEC) and other related organisations e.g. the Ministry of Finance with the practical organisation (the MOE). The NEC and the Ministry of Finance see the financial gain by encouraging more private participation in the 12-year basic education programme, because this saves the national budget, but the MOE see it differently. The MOE will not agree to follow the policy implemented by the NEC; whereas the NEC which has only "staff" function could not do anything due to a lack of authority over the MOE. It seems the MOE are trying to put pressure on the government to provide solely the basic education, and to expand their authority.

Furthermore the MOE has authority over OPEC, as they see themselves being able to they see they can manage to handle the entire basic education provision, it may be that all policies for encouraging private schools proposed by OPEC were ignored. This may answer why the success of the policy for encouraging private participation proposed by the NEC was slight.

Since the expansion of state schooling, mainly imposed by the MOE, has nearly covered primary and lower secondary levels, the alternative route allowing the private sector to survive has tended to be one where it has avoided competing in compulsory educational provision. There is still enough room in pre-primary and vocational education in the short run to accommodate private education. This is the only way to avoid competition with the public schools.

Although this research has pointed out that vocational education requires the highest investment compared to other educational levels, it may still be worth investing in areas which are in high demand in the labour market. Research by the Department of Labour and the Thailand Development Institution found that between 1997 and 2001 Thailand will need more than 4.8 million skilled workers (cited in Bangkok Bank, 1997). This large market requirement will have to come mainly from vocational school students. The author's experience suggests that vocational students are

expecting to find job opportunities available upon graduation, while those in the general stream expect to continue their studies at university level.

However, this is not easy; for instance, if a private school decides to change the level of education it must still comply with all standards set by the MOE. This means that it must change most of the school facilities to suit schoolchildren at the level concerned. Tables and chairs, teaching and learning materials, and books in the library must be replaced, while school services, teacher training and teacher recruitment must be revised. Obviously, the replacement of school facilities must lead to high investment in both capital and operating costs, while the replacement of school teachers leads to personnel problems and compensation for early retirements. The transfer of the remaining pupils to other schools inevitably causes problems with parents and students.

If the government has no effective policy for the private sector, private schools may not be attracted to participate in the twelve-year basic education programme. In response to state control, the private schools have to find new ways and means to survive. The problem of how to compete with public schools is a serious one. It is time to accept the real fact that education is a specific type of business. The government should take into consideration that the survival of private participation in education is profit-oriented business, like other kinds of businesses. It should increase the present rates of school fees and allow supplementary fees by taking into account the actual cost of educational services of all types and levels. It can be argued that schools are unlike other kinds of business. Profit for a school business cannot be gained at the start but only over a long stretch of time. This is one of the main obstacles to be overcome in order to achieve the best possible results from private education.

The private school business is also quite sensitive to the economic situation of the country. From the author's past observation, those events that have had a significant impact on private schools are as follows: economic recession, the oil crisis, reduction in the numbers of schoolchildren as a result of family planning, teacher problems, the

increasing salaries of staff, rules and regulations, policies which directly or indirectly affect private management and competition between schools.

By the year 2001, the government expects all the school age population to acquire a basic education. However, it is likely that the state may not be in a position to supply the high demand in this timespan. The country' s economy has also created financial problems for the government and it will, therefore, have to overcome many obstacles to achieve its aim. The state must find a way to solve this situation or else the progress of 12-year basic education may be delayed or even fail. Chapters 6 and 7 will show that a new model to oversee state/private provision for all levels of education has to be developed.

Chapter 6: The Revised Contingency Approach Model for Analysis of the Basic Educational Reform Plan: Requirements and Capacity of a 12-year Basic Educational Provision

Chapter 4 outlined the research methodology - the three steps of the research. Chapter 5 presented a critical analysis of the role of private participation. This chapter outlines the need for a more efficient model of educational provision and demonstrates that the 12 - year basic education programme requires three combined and co-ordinated instruments[1] for its analysis:

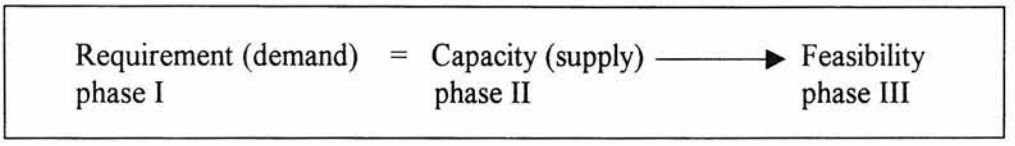
1) The economic approach using break-even point analysis
2) The statistical approach using regression analysis
3) The Contingency Approach using its four phases (Requirements, Capacity, Feasibility and Implementation).

These three selected analytical instruments are jointly manipulated to produce the overall analysis that will finally yield the third step (the feasibility of a 12-year basic educational provision) and the fourth step (its implementation - the model for a 12-year basic educational provision). The third and fourth steps will be discussed in Chapter 7 The Revised Contingency Approach Model for Analysis of the Basic Educational Reform Plan: Feasibility and Implementation of a 12-year Basic Education.

[1] Financial, statistical and the Contingency Approach as instruments for this study have already been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

According to economic principles, as shown in figure 17 below, if demand equals supply a situation will be in equilibrium. Similarly, in the form of Contingency Approach, if the requirement (phase I) equals the capacity (phase II), the projected task is considered to be feasible (phase III). It can be argued that the Contingency Approach provides the optimum model for this.

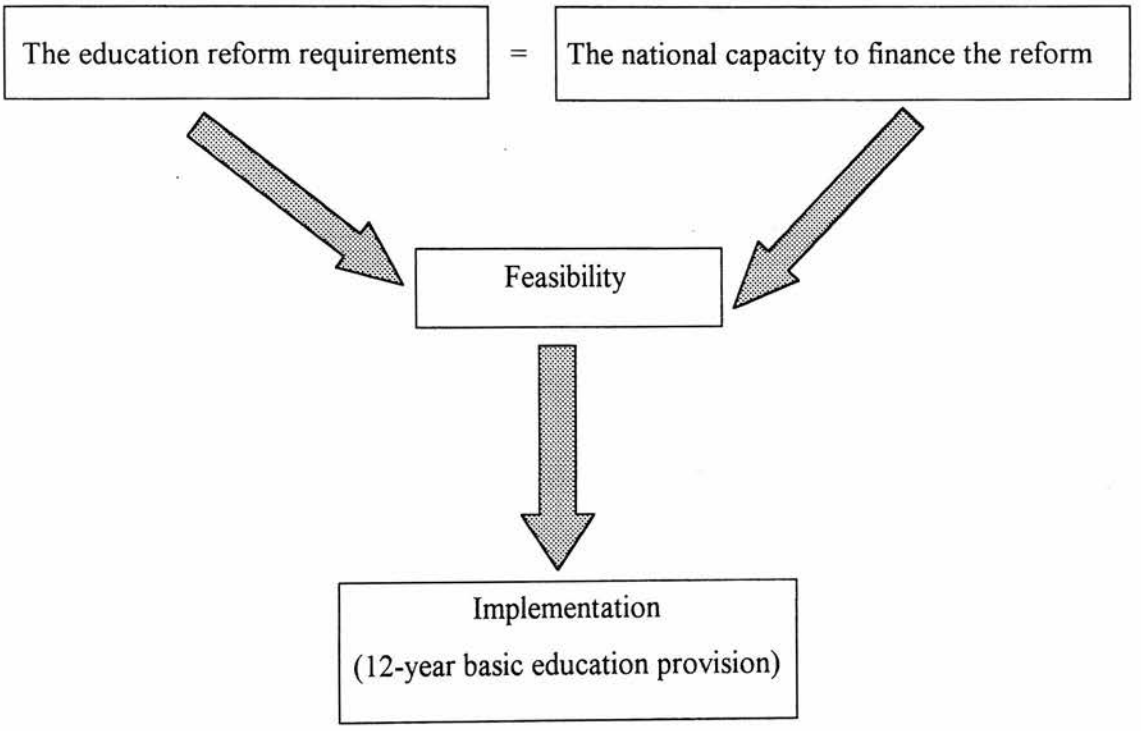
Figure 17: Relationship between requirement, capacity and feasibility



Therefore, with this concept in mind, if the requirements are equal to the capacity the national 12-year educational reform is feasible without any adjustments. According to the Contingency concept of Rondinelli et al (1990), if the requirements are not in equilibrium with the capacity, then adjustments in the form of reductions or additions to the projected task have to be made either in the requirements (the magnitude of the educational reform project) or in the capacity (ability to finance the reform project). In summary, the requirements and the capacity should, in principle, be in equilibrium if the projected task, as it is currently formulated, is to be feasible (phase III).

However, in practice, the twelve-year basic educational provision is feasible only under certain conditions and assumptions, and if the model for 12-year basic educational provision is to be recommended for implementation, development and change must occur in educational planning to make it practicable. The Contingency Approach is depicted in figure 18.

Figure 18: Model of the four phases in action:



With this model, the concepts of the "requirement" and the "capacity" can be transformed and identified as discrete values or figures in order to see the equation in figures of the same measuring unit, for instance: requirement (150,000 billion Baht) = capacity (150,000 billion Baht)

The task in question for phase I (the requirements) is that the state should provide sufficient free education for the entire school age population (Thailand, 1997). The required variables that are relevant for this analysis and which can be transformed from subjective variables into actual and projected figures are:

1. the numbers of the entire school age population entering the 12-year basic education at each level of education: primary, lower secondary, upper secondary and vocational study for each particular year starting from 1998
2. the total cost of providing the school facilities required for the entire school age population over future years.

In this phase, the requirements in terms of places and budgetary allocation for the school age population will be calculated. In the second phase, the capacity to support the basic education will be calculated by the same method, and the proportional role of public and private sector in basic educational provisions will be determined.

Phase 1: Requirements in terms of places and budget allocation for the school age population

The first phase deals with educational requirements. In this the two variables outlined above, the total school age population and the budget for the 12-year basic education provision needed by the whole school age population, are determined quantitatively. The total school age population must be determined before anything else, since this variable is the most significant item for the requirements. If the total school age population can be arrived at, the total budget for educational provision can in turn be deduced. However, the data for this first variable are not ready-made and cannot be traced from a computerised database.

The tracing of just this one variable, the totals of the school age population in particular years requires the following eight sources of reference to establish reliability:

1. The National Statistical Bureau
2. The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)
3. The Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC)
4. The Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC)
5. The General Education Development
6. The Municipal Government of the Ministry of Interior Affairs
7. The Vocational Education Department of the Ministry of Education
8. The National Education Commission (NEC)

There was difficulty in finding these figures to be represented as Requirements and as Capacity for a 12-year basic educational programme.

Firstly, it was understood that figures would be received from various state agencies: the National Statistical Bureau, which deal with demographic of Thailand's population, could provide a figure of the school age population; the ONPEC, the OPEC, the General Educational Development, the Vocational Education Department in the Ministry of Education and the Municipal Government in the Ministry of Interior Affairs could have provided the number of school attenders; and the NEC and NESDB national educational planning policies and related figures.

In the field research it was discovered that the calculation of the total of the school age population and school attenders falls under the responsibility and jurisdiction of the educational related and departments mentioned above. Their own estimates are based on their particular sources of data, which are not the same in each organisation. They often, therefore, produce conflicting figures which have to be assessed by the National Education Commission. The NEC has to liase with these seven offices to produce an accurate and reliable estimate of the school age population and school attenders in the whole country.

The confusion arises because the calculating methods, terms, and purposes are different in each organisation. Take for instance the estimation of the numbers of those who will be of school age between 1990 and 2006 archived by the National Economic and Social Development Board. This particular calculation was made on the assumption that the fertility rate [number of children per family] and the death rate from AIDS should be set at medium average level. Since the assumption was based on the fertility rate between 1990 and 1995, the projected fertility rate was, therefore, 2.1855 per family (NESDB,

1994). When the author inquired about the "school age population", the NESDB took that to mean the total school age population from pre-primary education (3-5 years old) to tertiary level (18-21 years old). By contrast the total of the school age population for the twelve-year basic education refers to children between 6 and 17 years of age at primary and secondary levels. The figures in this study are actually worked out by consulting sources in all these agencies.

It is by no means certain that these data are inaccurate or unreliable, but the various departments are not necessarily in agreement about definitions, so that the data have to be checked, cross referenced and confirmed from time to time by the National Education Commission (NEC).

> All educational data of the NEC are collected from the various implementing agencies; however, due to the terms defined by each organisation, or by their ways of calculation or periods of data collection, the NEC has organised ad hoc working groups from these organisations and departments, and holds seminars to confirm that the terms and definitions applied to data are in agreement. All data must be transformed into the NEC's standard format and definition (Aneechakul, W. Head of Data and Information Section, Educational Information Centre, ONEC, Interview 20 August, 1997).

In this study, the calculation of the requirements of the school age population between 1989 and 2005 is actually worked out based on the official observed data derived from the Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning of the National Education Commission, where the author undertook participant observation during a period of field research in Thailand. The reason for specifying the precise sources is that the data have been confirmed by the above process, and they are officially used by the NEC. Hence these official data are regarded as more valid and reliable than other sources. These data are confidently used in this study as a basis from which to calculate the school age population and school attenders in future academic years.

The estimate used in the study is obtained by calculating the projected number of the school age population on the basis of the demographic calculation method - population increase/decrease[2]. The concept is related to the factor of population change, and is significant in determining the increase or decrease in the school age population.

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[2] *Population increase/decrease* is the percentage increase/decrease in total population over a year. Immigration equals zero, as local immigrants are already included in the total population base of the country. (Local immigrations are those Thai citizens who move from one place to another, such as workers who migrate from province to province to find jobs.) Immigrants from outside the country or foreigners who work in Thailand are not taken in to account as they are not Thai citizens, and they have no right to Thai schooling. *Population base* is simply the total number of residents in Thailand at any given time. These persons may be Thai citizens by nationality or be holding Thai citizenship. In this study, the population base is the actual total population over the past ten years, between 1985 and 1996. The formula for the population increase is:

$$\text{Population increase/decrease} = \frac{\text{Population increase/decrease in numbers} \times 100}{\text{Population base}}$$

$$\text{or} \quad = \frac{(\text{Number of Births} - \text{Number of Deaths} + \text{Number of immigrants}) \times 100}{\text{Population base}}$$

Birth rate, is defined as the number of births per 1000 members of population during a specific period of time, (a year is the standard period) over the midyear population. The formula for calculating the birth rate is:

$$\text{Birth rate} = \frac{\text{Births in a year} \times 1000}{\text{Midyear population}}$$

Death rate, is likewise defined as the number of deaths from all causes during one year per 1000 persons over the midyear population. The formula is, therefore,:

$$\text{Death rate} = \frac{\text{Deaths in a year} \times 1000}{\text{Midyear population}}$$

The figures presented in Charts 5-10 in the following next pages correspond to requirements in terms of the total number of the school age population at all levels, and at separate levels: primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, vocational, and secondary level (upper secondary and vocational level[3]) between 1989 and 2005. These are followed by a presentation of the requirements in terms of the educational budget needed for the school age population's education. In this study the calculation is actually worked out by consulting the original primary sources. The figures between 1989 and 1996 are "observed data" or "actual school age population", whereas between 1997 and 2005, they are "estimated data" or "projected school age population" extrapolated from the observed data of 1989 to 1996. Thus the scale of the Y-axis represents the number of the school age population or school attenders in the ratio of 1: 1000, or it can be the amount of budget in the ratio of £ 1: 1000. The scale of the X-axis refers to academic years. This principle is used for the requirements and it is applied to all subsequent charts in this study.

In Chart 5 on the next two pages, it is interesting to note that the school age population of all levels tends to decrease gradually throughout the period 1989 to 2005 from 13,921,000 to 12,690,000 because of a decline in national population. This has been the result of family planning and the co-operation of the people throughout the country who value the benefits of planning families. In addition, during the 1990s, a cause of higher mortality among children has been the increased incidence of HIV infection. For instance, it is reported that in 1994 women comprised 40% of the HIV-infected population, with women in the 20-25 age group being the most affected (NESDB, 1992d). It is anticipated by the NESDB that by the year 2000, 2 to 4 million Thais will be infected, with over 50% being women. The success of family planning and the deaths caused by AIDS have

[3] Vocational level equals upper secondary level. It is a "lower certificate of vocational education" in Thailand's educational system. The details on the levels have been discussed in Chapter 2 part 2.

reduced the annual increase in the whole population from 3.22% in 1960 to 1.20 % in 1993 (NESDB, 1992d).

Moreover, between 1990 and 1997, the percentage of pregnant women with the HIV/AIDS virus has increased to over 2% nationally; therefore, it is likely that by the end of the year 2000, 86,000 infants will have died of AIDS transferred from their parents and 350,000 children will be orphaned by the deaths of their parents (Bangkok Post, 1997). Obviously this will affect the childhood population, leading to a downward trend in the school age population. Besides the increase in HIV-infected children, its spread to the adult population will affect children in other ways. The most important is that the HIV-infected infants or children will survive for some years after the death of their parents.

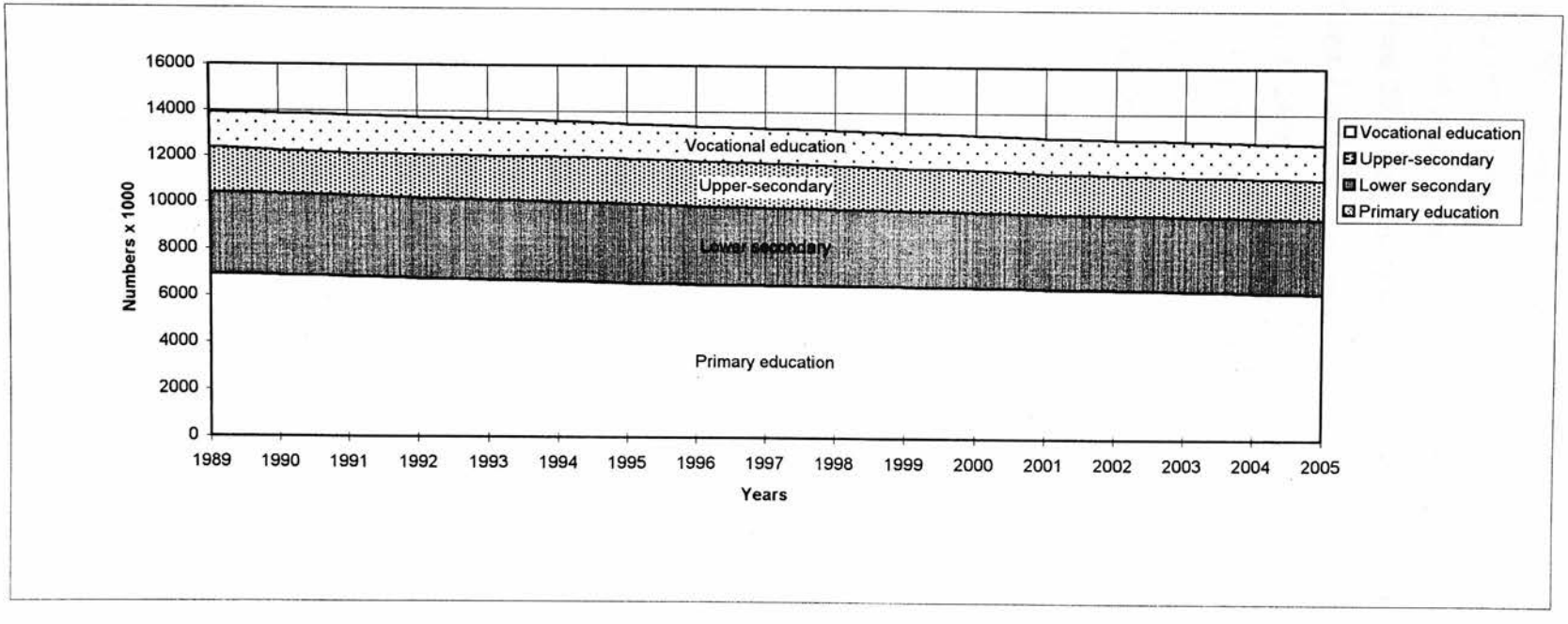
These two causes will lead to a reduction in the school age population in each level between 1989 and 2005. Hence, the school age population, comprising primary education, lower-secondary level, and upper-secondary level, and vocational level, is on a downward trend. From the projection shown in Chart 5 on the next page, the total school age population in the year 2000 will be 13,056,000, of whom 6,450,000 will be of primary school age, 3,258,000 lower-secondary school age, 1,839,000 of upper-secondary school age, and 1,509,000 of vocational education school age. It can thus be inferred at this stage that the state will need to provide fewer places at primary education level in the period 1998 to 2005.

Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 5 Numbers of actual and projected school age population of each level, 1989-2005 (1: 1000 persons)

Estimated population	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Primary education	6,924	6,876	6,812	6,754	6,698	6,640	6,579	6,531	6,504	6,486	6,470	6,450	6,411	6,373	6,336	6,285	6,235
Lower secondary	3,516	3,512	3,502	3,485	3,468	3,445	3,420	3,389	3,356	3,322	3,286	3,258	3,245	3,242	3,238	3,232	3,221
Upper-secondary	1,952	1,867	1,841	1,864	1,893	1,948	1,964	1,947	1,924	1,888	1,848	1,839	1,753	1,725	1,710	1,704	1,700
Vocational education	1,529	1,627	1,660	1,642	1,610	1,546	1,514	1,512	1,514	1,525	1,534	1,509	1,559	1,553	1,543	1,535	1,534
Total	13,921	13,882	13,815	13,745	13,669	13,579	13,477	13,379	13,298	13,221	13,138	13,056	12,968	12,893	12,827	12,756	12,690

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, NEC: Unpublished data, Chart 2 p.2



In Charts 6-10 on the following pages, it can be seen that the secondary school age population tends to decrease gradually throughout the period 1989 to 2005. This is also because of the decline in the national population growth rate and because of the smaller numbers of primary school age population; consequently, the total of the lower and upper secondary, and vocational school age population also falls during this period. Chart 6 indicates that between 1989 and 2005, the primary school age population decreases from 6,924,000 to 6,235,000; Chart 7 indicates that lower secondary age numbers decrease gradually from 3,516,000 to 3,221,000; Chart 8 shows that the upper secondary age population declines from 1,952,000 to 1,700,000; Chart 9 shows the vocational education age population increase from 1,529,000 to 1,534,000; Chart 10 shows the secondary education age population.

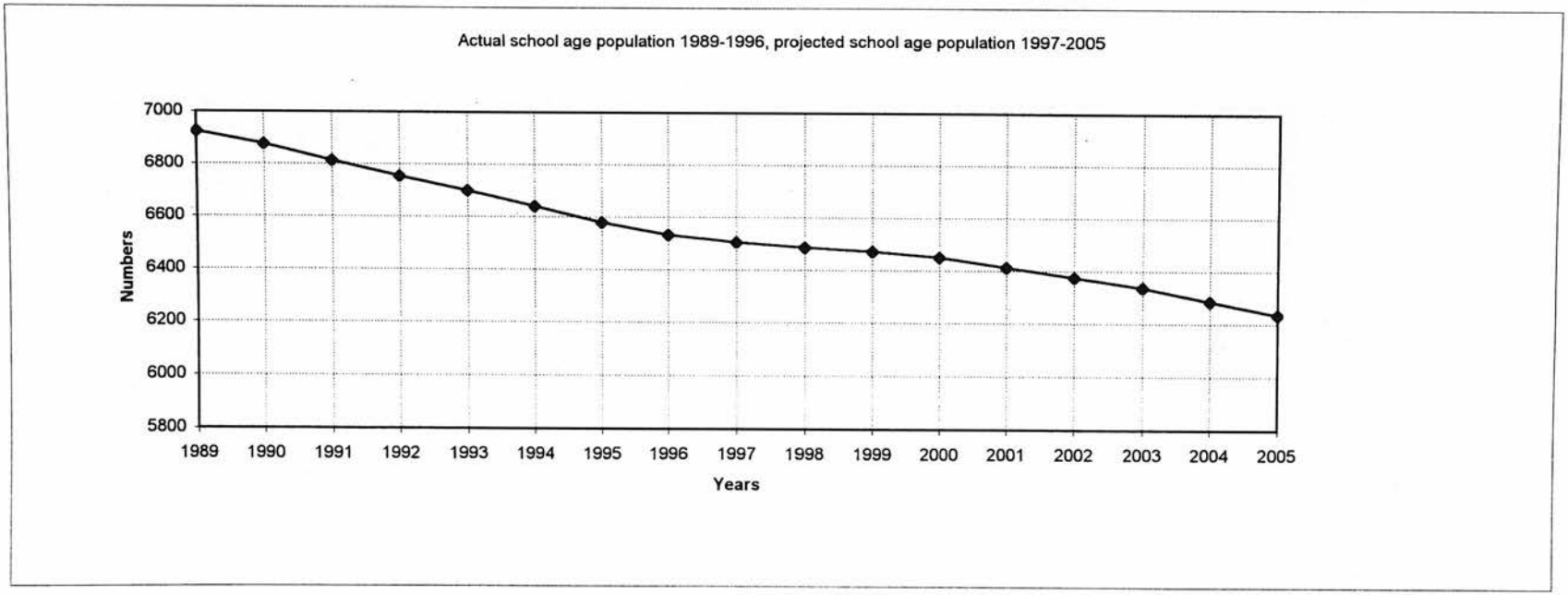
Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 6 Numbers of actual and projected school age population, (primary education), academic year 1989-2005

(1:1000 persons)

Primary education	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	6,924	6,876	6,812	6,754	6,698	6,640	6,579	6,531	6,504	6,486	6,470	6,450	6,411	6,373	6,336	6,285	6,235

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, NEC: Unpublished data, Chart 2 p.2



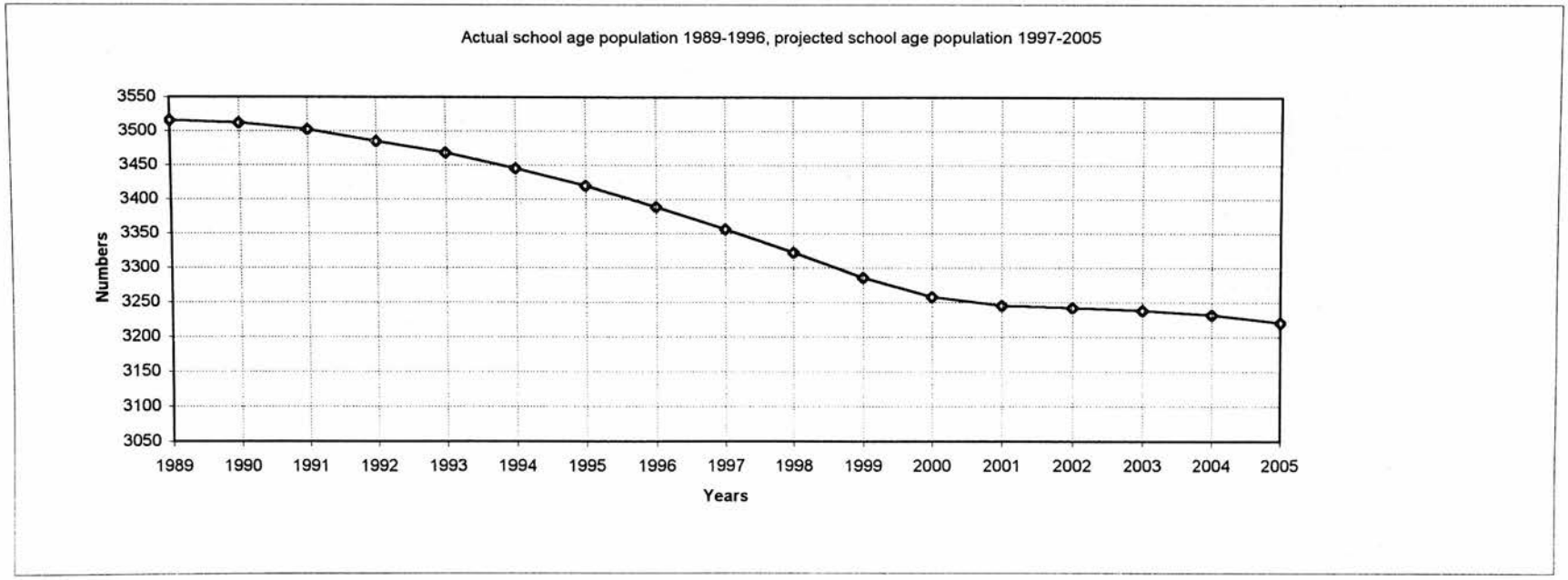
Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 7 Numbers of actual and projected school age population, (Lower secondary education), academic year 1989-2005

(1:1000 persons)

Lower secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	3,516	3,512	3,502	3,485	3,468	3,445	3,420	3,389	3,356	3,322	3,286	3,258	3,245	3,242	3,238	3,232	3,221

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, NEC: Unpublished data, Chart 2 p.2

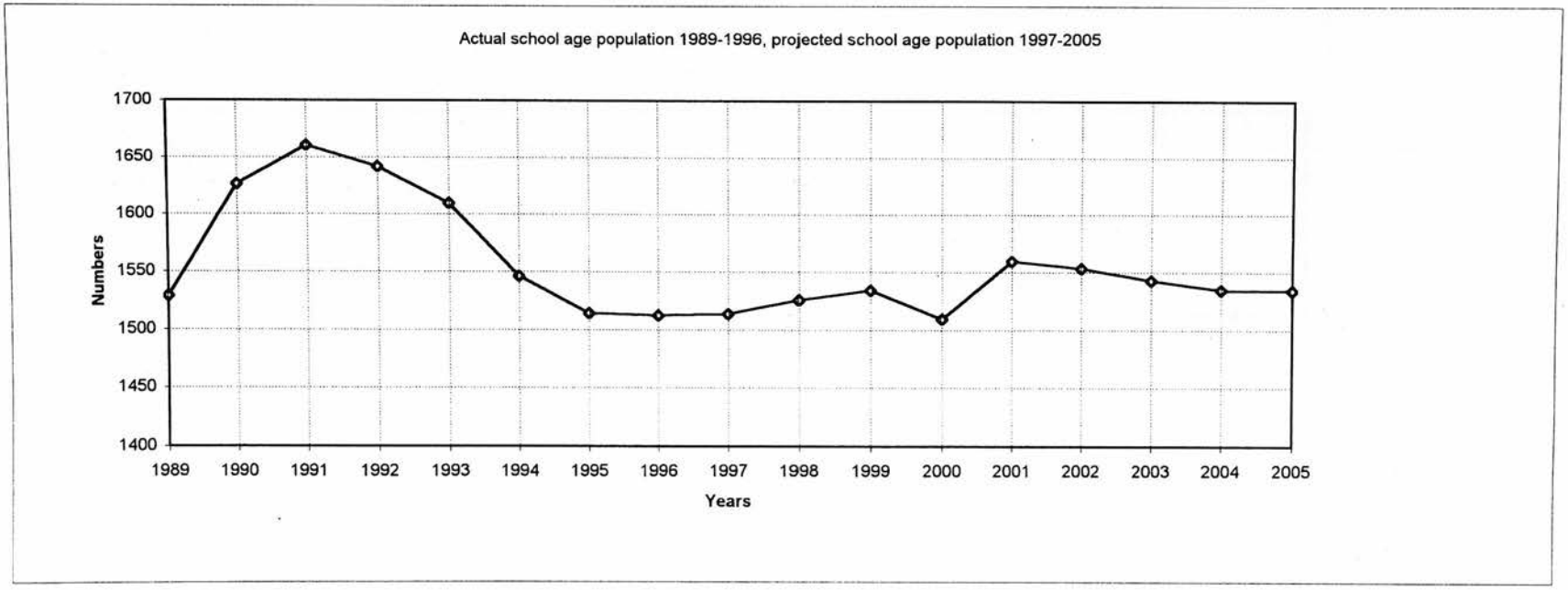


Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 8 Numbers of actual and projected school age population, (upper secondary education), academic year 1989-2005 (1:1000 persons)

Vocational education	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	1,529	1,627	1,660	1,642	1,610	1,546	1,514	1,512	1,514	1,525	1,534	1,509	1,559	1,553	1,543	1,535	1,534

Calculated from Chart 2,17 Unpublished document, Division of Macro Educational Development, NEC : 1997



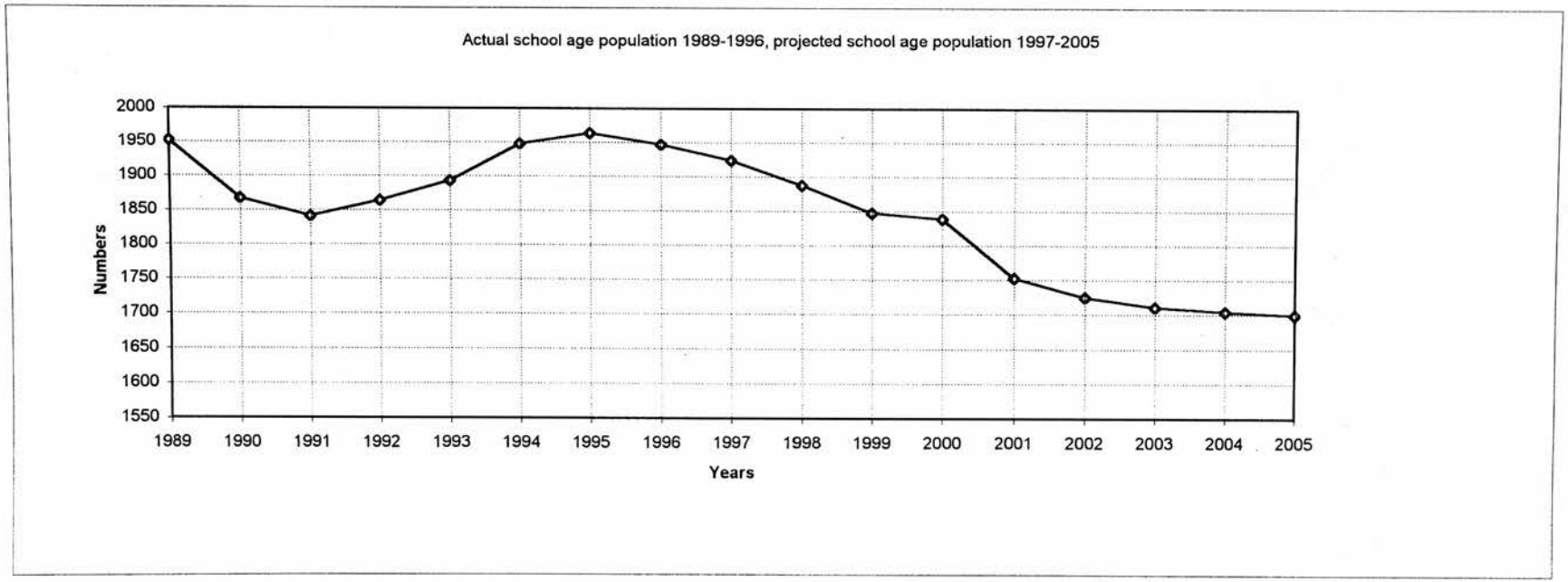
Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 9 Numbers of actual and projected school age population, (vocational education), academic year 1989-2005

(1:1000 persons)

Upper-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	1,952	1,867	1,841	1,864	1,893	1,948	1,964	1,947	1,924	1,888	1,848	1,839	1,753	1,725	1,710	1,704	1,700

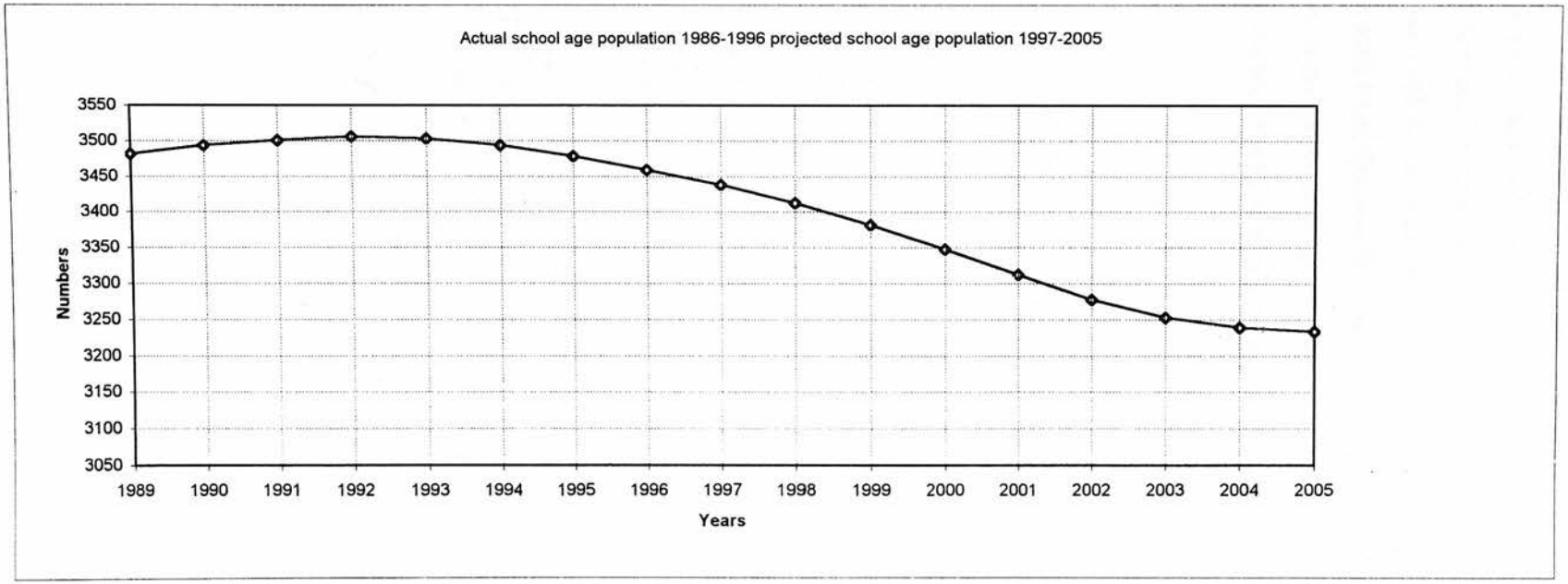
Calculated from Chart 2,17 Unpublished document, Division of Macro Educational Development, NEC : 1997



Requirements in terms of numbers of school age population

Chart 10 Numbers of actual and projected school age population, (secondary education), academic year 1989-2005 (1:1000 persons)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Number of Secondary school age	3,481	3,494	3,501	3,506	3,503	3,494	3,478	3,459	3,438	3,413	3,382	3,348	3,312	3,278	3,253	3,239	3,234
Number of Upper secondary's sch	1,952	1,867	1,841	1,864	1,893	1,948	1,964	1,947	1,924	1,888	1,848	1,839	1,753	1,725	1,710	1,704	1,700
Number of Lower vocational edu	1,529	1,627	1,660	1,642	1,610	1,546	1,514	1,512	1,514	1,525	1,534	1,509	1,559	1,553	1,543	1,535	1,534



The requirements in terms of finance refer to the amount of budget allocation for everyone in the entire school age population. This is calculated by multiplying the numbers in each school age population with the cost per capita of education at such levels. The figures, were worked out, indicate the amount of the budget the government will have to provide for the twelve-year basic education programme. The costs of education vary according to each level. Because they increase annually at an average of 10 %, 10% is added annually to each level between 1991 and 1996 as shown in table 22. This increase of 10% is the average annual rate of educational cost increment between 1986 and 1990.

Table 22: Educational cost per capita at each level 1989-2005 [the exchange rate is £1= 50 Baht]

Educational costs	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Primary	£ 109.01	£ 110.86	£ 117.36	£ 129.09	£ 142.00	£ 156.20
Lower secondary	£ 140.75	£ 143.33	£ 146.58	£ 161.24	£ 177.36	£ 195.10
Upper-secondary	£ 140.75	£ 143.33	£ 146.58	£ 161.24	£ 177.36	£ 195.10
Vocational education	£ 288.79	£ 323.97	£ 374.13	£ 411.54	£ 452.69	£ 497.96

Educational costs	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Primary	£ 171.82	£ 189.00	£ 207.90	£ 228.69	£ 251.56	£ 276.72
Lower secondary	£ 214.60	£ 236.07	£ 259.67	£ 285.64	£ 314.20	£ 345.62
Upper-secondary	£ 214.60	£ 236.07	£ 259.67	£ 285.64	£ 314.20	£ 345.62
Vocational education	£ 547.76	£ 602.54	£ 662.79	£ 729.07	£ 801.98	£ 882.17

Educational costs	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Primary	£ 304.39	£ 334.83	£ 368.31	£ 405.14	£ 445.66
Lower secondary	£ 380.19	£ 418.20	£ 460.02	£ 506.03	£ 556.63
Upper-secondary	£ 380.19	£ 418.20	£ 460.02	£ 506.03	£ 556.63
Vocational education	£ 970.39	£ 1,067.43	£ 1,174.17	£ 1,291.59	£ 1,420.75

Source: Educational costs of each level were calculated from observed data between 1989 and 1996 derived from NEC (1994).

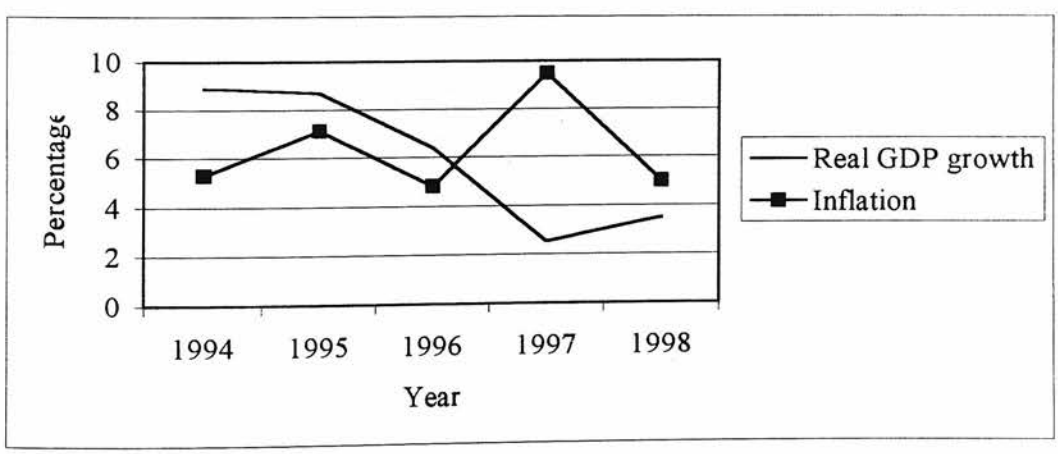
In the table 22, the cost of educational provision differs at each level. Primary educational cost is the lowest of all levels. Between 1898 and 2005 it ranges from £ 109.01-£445.66 per capita. The NEC sees lower and upper secondary educational costs as equal ranging from £140.75-£556.66. The vocational educational cost is the highest of all falling between £228.79-£1,420.75 per student. It may be that teaching and learning equipment and material especially for commercial and technical fields make this cost higher than the others.

It is a fact that currency devaluation and economic fluctuation affect these figures. This economic crisis in the middle of 1997 seemed to result in a change in the figures, especially as the exchange rate had risen from £1 = 50 baht to £1 = 90 baht by the end of 1997. However Chart 11 shows that there are still economic and currency fluctuations each year from the past to the present.

Chart 11: Real GDP growth and inflation between 1994 and 1998

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Real GDP growth	8.9	8.7	6.4	2.5	3.5
Inflation	5.3	7.1	4.8	9.5	5

Source: Ministry of Finance, 1997 (unpublished data).



To calculate the real cost based on the exchange rates, it is possible to trace backward comparing Thai and British currency, but it is impossible to predict the annual fluctuations in the future.

In this study aimed to calculate educational cost, total school age population and educational provision with a 10% annual adjustment are specified as variables. The outcome from this represents the educational cost which the state has to provide. The reason for transferring the Thai currency to the British one is to help readers who are familiar with British currency.

The requirements in financial terms are presented in Chart 12 on the next page. This shows the amount of budget required for a universal 12-year basic education programme. It serves as a ground for the third phase of the Contingency Approach. The details of finance are discussed latter in Chapter 7 which deals with feasibility.

Chart 12 Amount of budget allocation required by school age population (all levels), 1989-2005 (£ 1: 1000)

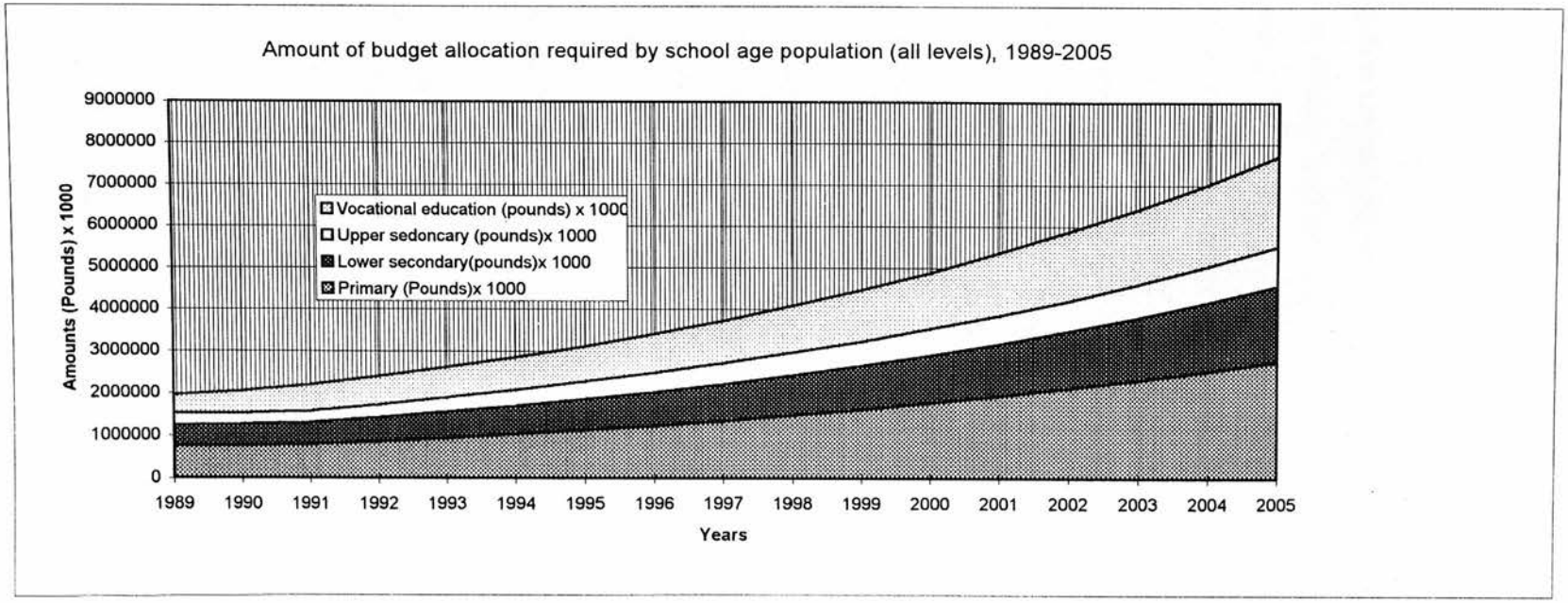
	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Primary (Pounds)x 1000	754,785	762,273	799,429	871,885	951,121	1,037,174	1,130,410
Lower secondary(pounds)x 1000	494,884	503,368	513,316	561,907	615,082	672,103	733,949
Upper sedoncary (pounds)x 1000	274,769	267,659	269,809	300,600	335,758	379,988	421,415
Vocational education (pounds) x 1000	441,510	526,947	621,158	675,607	728,797	770,001	829,486
Total (Pounds) x 1000	1,965,948	2,060,248	2,203,712	2,409,998	2,630,758	2,859,265	3,115,259

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Primary (Pounds)x 1000	1,234,379	1,352,203	1,483,307	1,627,613	1,784,840	1,951,452	2,133,874
Lower secondary(pounds)x 1000	800,025	871,459	948,893	1,032,471	1,126,041	1,233,702	1,355,818
Upper sedoncary (pounds)x 1000	459,587	499,700	539,172	580,522	635,434	666,278	721,281
Vocational education (pounds) x 1000	911,117	1,003,233	1,112,124	1,230,550	1,331,628	1,513,319	1,658,028
Total (Pounds) x 1000	3,405,109	3,726,594	4,083,496	4,471,156	4,877,942	5,364,752	5,869,001

	2003	2004	2005
Primary (Pounds)x 1000	2,333,634	2,546,335	2,778,685
Lower secondary(pounds)x 1000	1,489,560	1,635,479	1,792,904
Upper sedoncary (pounds)x 1000	786,716	862,372	946,138
Vocational education (pounds) x 1000	1,811,561	1,982,334	2,179,769
Total (Pounds) x 1000	6,421,470	7,026,519	7,697,497

Chart 12 (Continue) Amount of budget allocation required by school age population (all levels), 1989-2005

(£ 1: 1000)



Phase 2: Capacity of the public and private sectors to provide a 12-year basic education programme

The Thai Government has long realised the necessity of basic education, and is now extending its commitment at primary level to include secondary level. Since 1989 the National Education Commission (NEC) and the Ministry of Education (MOE) have held a series of internal conferences to allow all relevant agencies to discuss and modify their concepts of the basic learning needs of Thais (NEC, 1989). The expansion of the basic educational services beyond primary education only started as a pilot project during the Sixth National Education Development Plan of 1986-1990.

Since 1990 "basic education" has become a globally important issue, and is widely considered not only as a human right, but as a prerequisite for sustainable social development, necessary for and benefiting both the rich and the poor (WCEFA, 1990a; 1990b), as was noted in Chapter 1. The World Conference on Education for All, held in 1990, indicates a continuing consensus about the necessity for, and the right to education, affirming the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948.Thailand participated in a discussion with 156 other countries at *the World Conference on Education for All* which assembled in Jomtien, Thailand on 5-9th March 1990 and showed its support for universal educational rights (WCEFA, 1990a; 1990b).

The Thai cabinet agreed with the Thai delegates' recommendation and has adopted the principles of the WCEFA, following the guidelines and framework of action. The Thai Government aims to improve people's ability to respond to the rapid economic and social development of the country; notably by providing a better educational opportunity for all and expanding the compulsory basic provision (NESDB, 1992; 1997).

To ensure that all Thais enjoy the right to education, the government is committed to working co-operatively with the relevant agencies to achieve the objectives enunciated in this declaration. The NEC formulated the *National Education Scheme of 1992* as a framework for a plan of action; this scheme specifies the goals and strategies for the state related agencies to develop their policies and plans. It commits the state to accelerating educational opportunities by expanding basic education throughout the country, and improving the quality of secondary education. The expansion of the lower secondary educational services which started with the Seventh National Education Development Plan of 1991-1995, has resulted in an increasing demand for formal lower secondary education.

The six-year compulsory education programme was made available throughout the country, in 1997 it covered 97% of the primary school age population. The remaining 3% is accounted for by pupils who are needed to work to support disabled parents, some hill tribe pupils in remote areas where educational service cannot be accessed are exempted from compulsory primary schooling, and some do not attend or dropout during their study.

> Currently in 1997, the twelve-year basic education has been specified as a target in the Eighth National Social and Economic Development Plan 1998 – 2001; its intention is to commit the Thai Government to provide a sufficient budget to support basic schooling rather than forcing parents to enrol their children in schools. At this stage, the state has full responsibility for providing places and finance for the relevant school age population. In 1997, 4,200 primary schools of the NEC are operating free lower secondary education. However, 100% compulsion seems an ideal but is impossible to carry out in any country (Suwansatit, S. Deputy secretary-general, Ministry of Education, Interview 13 August 1997).

From the above given information, it seems that this is a weakness of Thailand's schooling system because the organisation dealing with this problem does not attempt to trace where these 3% of primary schoolchildren are, nor does it take seriously cases of absenteeism in a supposedly compulsory education system.

In this second phase, two variables, namely the number of school attenders representing public and private capacity and the budget allocation for educational provision will be calculated using actual and projected figures. The number of school attenders between 1989 and 1996 are observed data derived from the NEC; the number from 1997 onwards are based on the observed data between 1989 and 1996 and on the transition rate between levels as calculated by the NEC.

Pre-primary level

The government set up the first kindergarten school in 1940, a latter date than the private sector, in line with the policy of encouraging private participation in early childhood development in the formal school system. One of the aims of this was to research and develop teaching and learning methods for the private sector (OPEC, 1983). It can be seen that the government had no intention, or official policy, of providing pre-primary education. However, in practice, the state has provided pre-primary education in various forms - public kindergarten, pre-primary classes, day-care and child-care centres, and child development institutions. Most of these public schools are financially supported by the Ministry of Education. It enacted these provisions before the promulgation of the

National Education Scheme 1992 which suggested that the state should expand child-care services so as to prepare all children for at least one year before their compulsory primary education begins (NEC, 1992a).

That the state should participate in pre-primary education is contrary to the scheme of 1992, the *National Education Curriculum 1978* and the *National Education Curriculum 1978 (Revised 1990),* which proposed that the state should not compete with the private sector (NEC, 1978a; 1978b; 1992a). In reality the public schools have attempted to maintain the numbers of children in their primary classes by encouraging a similar number to enrol in their pre-primary classes. This tends to ensure that these children will begin their compulsory primary education at the same school, and that each year the school will have the same number of pupils to fill its primary classes, thereby allowing the school to receive the full amount of subsidy from the state central national budget. If the numbers fall below the target, the surplus finance has to be returned. This then leads to lower levels of subsidy and fewer benefits in the following academic years, a situation which adversely affects not only the individual schools but also the implementing agencies.

For the aforementioned reasons, state-related agencies and other government agencies continue to provide pre-primary services in various forms. In 1992, the following state agencies were providing kindergarten or pre-primary classes: the Teacher Training Department of the MOE, which has 19 schools; the Department of Religious Affairs within the MOE which has 353 child-care centres; the Department of the General Commission of the MOE which has 41 schools; the Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) within the MOE which has 31,437 schools (with 910,651 pupils); and the Ministry of University Affairs which has 13 schools (OPEC, 1992). In addition several other departments also took responsibility for child-care centres: the Ministry of Interior Affairs: 93; the Police Department: 63; the Department of Public Welfare: 999; Community Development Department: 3,428; and the Ministry of

Public Health: 1,250. The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration was responsible for 321 schools and 56 child-care centres, while there were 2,199 private kindergarten schools containing 404,019 children (OPEC, 1992). It can be argued that the enrolment and capacity of private pre-primary schools is higher than the ONPEC schools. This can be worked out through the proportion of private schools to pre-primary pupils, as 1: 183.73, whereas the proportion of ONPEC schools to its pre-primary pupils, as 1: 28.97.

In 1992, 40 % of the pre-primary school age population attended pre-primary schools (OPEC, 1992). Since education at this level is not compulsory parents can enrol their children in any type of pre-primary education or can keep them at home; some prefer to enrol their children in child-care or child development centres from the age of two until they reach the age of six when they enter primary education. These centres function as children's community centres, and some are free of charge. The children who participate in the centres are not taught any subjects, but are provided with healthcare, meals and play activities.

The author's experience shows that parents can also enrol their children in a nursery school at the age of two, then continue pre-primary classes at the age of three. The function of the nursery is the same as the childcare or child development centres, but the fee is higher than at the centres. Like the child-care centres, nursery schools provide no formal teaching; none of them is permitted by law to function as a school. In addition they have child minders rather than teachers. After finishing this level, children normally continue pre-primary education in the private schools or in public schools of the ONPEC, or the Ministry of Interior Affairs (MOIA).

Five-year-old children enter the public schools of the MOIA where they attend classes for one year. Younger children may be accepted and allowed to attend the one-year class and repeat it until they reach primary school age. This class functions in the same way as the

child centres, but with a teacher in each class. When children reach the age to enter primary level, despite participating in these earlier classes, they are mostly illiterate since they are not taught to read or write. This causes problems for the primary schools when these illiterate children enter primary level alongside other literate children.

It is the fact that pre-primary education in some schools in Thailand and in many countries means to prepare children for physical or emotional readiness rather than literacy. Raudenbush et al (1991) stated that appropriate pre-primary programmes in developing countries are necessary for children. This is because it "can significantly increase the cognitive outcomes children obtain during their primary school years" (Raudenbush et al, 1991: 255). The author's experience shows that those without literacy ability face difficulties in catching up with the standard requirement of the MOE curriculum. These pupils, who have not been prepared, will only be able to read and write when they are in grade 2; some can do so when they are in grade 4. This may lead to failure in written examinations. Since these pupils lack literacy readiness, at many public schools teachers read the exam paper for their pupils until grade 4. This illiteracy will affect their competencies through out their studies, especially when they transfer to other schools or other levels.

However, the author's experience shows that parents can send their children to the public schools of the ONPEC which provide a two-year pre-primary curriculum for children of four years old. Some of these schools have a class for children younger than four years old and function as child care centres.

By contrast, private schools and the demonstration schools of the Ministry of University Affairs provide three years' pre-primary education. The purpose of both these types of schools is identical, except for the curricula. Each demonstration school has its own curriculum approved by the university to which it belongs, whereas the private schools apply the MOE curriculum.

The author's experience shows that the curriculum in private schools varies according to the duration of pre-primary provision. Some schools have chosen the new curriculum that is designed for a three-year duration with two semesters in a year. Some schools use the earlier approved curriculum, designed for two years' duration with three terms in a year. The earlier curriculum allows private schools to enrol children between the ages of 4 and 6. The private schools who follow the new curriculum are not allowed to enrol children who are less than 3 years old. It is, however, possible for a private school to enrol children younger than this age – using either the old or the new curriculum - if the school has a separate nursery facility. These younger children will then be enrolled as nursery pupils until they reach pre-primary age.

The variety of choices of pre-primary schooling makes it particularly difficult for parents to understand or even be aware of the range of available options. This in turn makes deciding what is best for their children a confusing and complicated matter. Those in schools administered by the MOIA will attend classes for only one year before they are enrolled in primary level, whereas those at ONPEC schools attend a two-year pre-primary level, while those at demonstration and private schools stay for three years.

The impression given is that children spend less time studying in public than in private schools which may bias or mislead parents about the nature of their children's schooling. They may assume that the quality of teaching and learning methods in the public schools are better than those used by the private schools. Three years in a private school is often considered too time-consuming, whereas one year in a public school sounds more reasonable. Thus parents may prefer not to enrol their children in private schools at primary level. This may be a reason why the role of private primary schools is apparently fading away, in respect of Chart 13 next two pages.

Primary level

Chart 13, on the next page, shows the role of the public and the private sectors in primary education provision. It can be seen, in terms of enrolment in both sectors between 1989 and 2005, that primary level schooling remained stable with only a small decrease in the number of school attenders across that period. Enrolment and capacity continue to be stable because primary education is compulsory and the state is obliged to provide schooling for the whole primary school age population. The curve of school enrolment dips between 1989 and 1994, and the totals decrease slightly over the whole 16 years. This means that the capacity at the primary educational level is well grounded and provides for as many children as attend public primary schools; only around 10% of pupils are in private schools. The significance of this is that public primary schooling is free of charge.

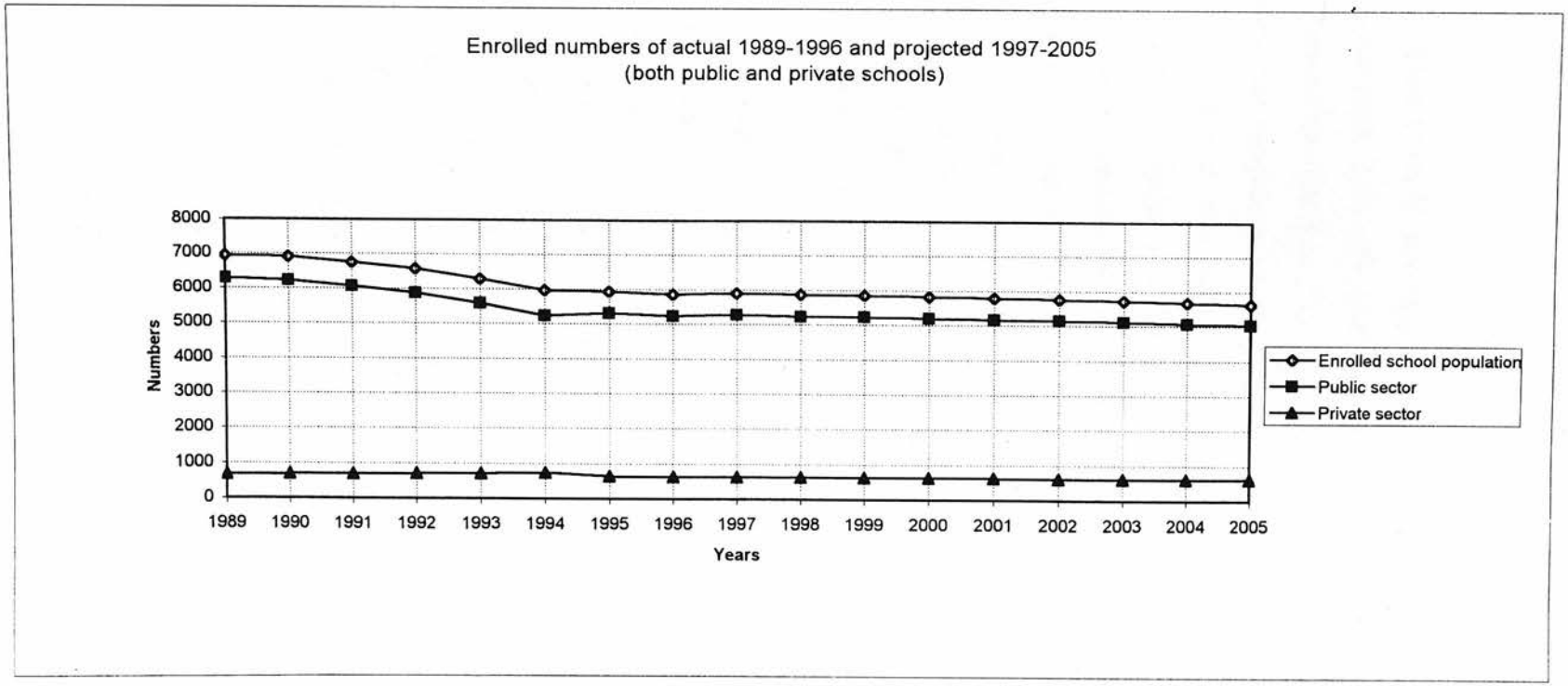
It can be seen that when the total school enrolment drops between 1995 and 2005, it leads to a decrease in enrolment in both the public and private sectors. This is due to primary schooling being adequate for the entire school age population. According to Chart 13, between 1995 and 2005 the total number of primary school attenders should decrease from 6,945,600 to 5,629,800 of these private school attenders will decrease from 671,000 to 602,400. It can be inferred that the proportion of private participation at primary school level will actually increase over the period in question, but in absolute terms it will decline by around 10%. This compares favourably with the overall decline in school attenders of about 19%. Thus the public school sector will incur a greater proportional contraction over the whole period.

Capacity

Chart 13 Capacity of primary education (both in public and in private schools)
(1:1000 Persons)

Primary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Enrolled school population	6,950	6,903	6,753	6,574	6,288	5,959	5,938	5,849	5,900	5,860	5,845	5.821	5,785	5,760	5,722	5,675	5,630
Public sector	6,279	6,221	6,063	5,873	5,577	5,224	5,303	5,223	5,269	5,233	5,220	5,198	5,166	5,143	5,110	5,068	5,027
Private sector	671	682	690	701	711	735	635	626	631	627	625	623	619	616	612	607	602

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 7-10, pp5-6



Lower-secondary level

At lower secondary level, Chart 14 on the next page shows that the overall capacity has been increasing rapidly since 1989. It is self-evident that this increase in capacity is in response to the higher demand for schooling. However in 1999, lower secondary and higher level have not been made compulsory for all. The high demand and great increase in capacity is shown by the number of school attenders at this level; in 1989 there were 1,397,800 pupils, this has nearly doubled to 2,709,000 by 1997. Demand for lower secondary schooling according to the projection increases throughout the period. The rather high increase in capacity at this level up until now has largely occurred in the public sector, with little growth in the private sector. Between 1995 and 1998 there were 28 general and 8 vocational private bilingual schools, and 34 private international schools in Thailand (MOE, 1998), and although the capacity includes all these students the numbers are still too small to affect the overall picture.

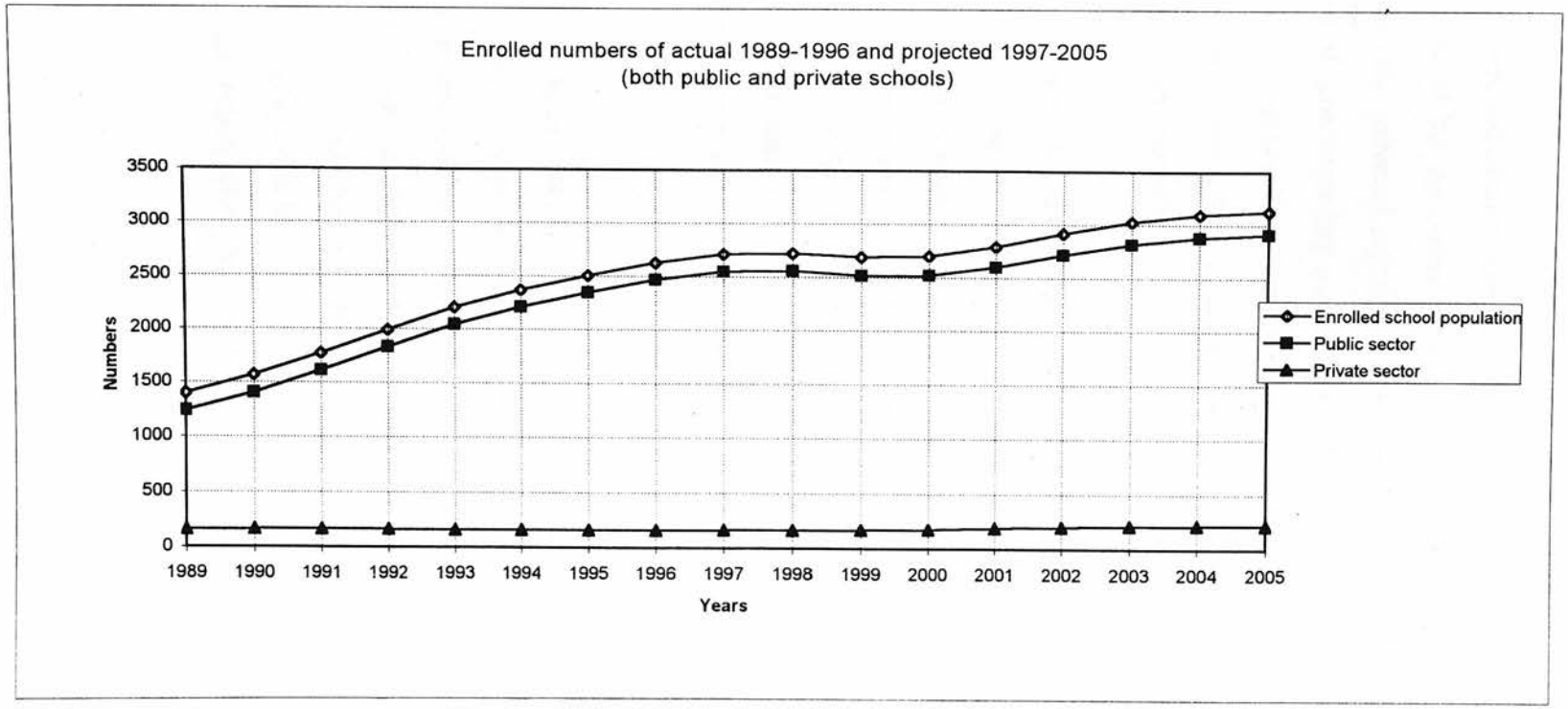
This may be explained by the fact that when public school capacity expanded in response to the demand for lower secondary level education, the private sector avoided competing with the public sector. This arose from the fact that education at this level between 1989 and 1997 was charged to parents, and private fees were higher than public ones. [Between 1990 and 1995, the subsidised private school fee was around £25-30 per annum, non-subsidised school fees were about £60-70 per annum, while public lower secondary school fees were around £10-20 annually. Whereas the international or bilingual school fees ranges from £2,000-7,000 annually] If more state primary schools are allowed to provide free lower secondary education, it is likely that parents will enrol their children in them.

Capacity

Chart 14 Capacity of Lower-secondary education (both in public and in private schools) (1:1000 persons)

Lower-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Enrolled school populatio	1,398	1,568	1,773	1,991	2,200	2,363	2,503	2,626	2,709	2,722	2,686	2,697	2,790	2,918	3,028	3,095	3,130
Public sector	1,241	1,405	1,610	1,828	2,040	2,204	2,344	2,466	2,546	2,555	2,514	2,520	2,600	2,714	2,816	2,878	2,910
Private sector	157	163	164	163	161	159	159	160	163	167	172	178	190	204	212	217	220

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 11-14, pp7-8



Upper secondary level

At the upper secondary level, the situation shown in Chart 15 is similar to the lower secondary level over the period, but the increase in capacity is not as great. At this level, private participation has only increased slightly. This is because public schools are renowned for the number of upper secondary students who achieve success as a result of their high academic quality, whereas in this realm the private schools have less status and reputation. The private schools find it hard to compete with the public schools at this level so they are less likely to participate here.

Some parents endeavour to enrol their children at specific secondary schools because of their high reputations and because of easy access to schools (Sriprasart and others, 1989). This suggests that private schools need to create a reputation in order to attract parents. However, a good name cannot be created immediately; for example, according to Sripasart and others' study, the four most famous and most sought after schools in Bangkok offering a general education only achieved such regard and acceptance by parents because they were all founded before 1929 and had built up a long and enduring reputation for quality.

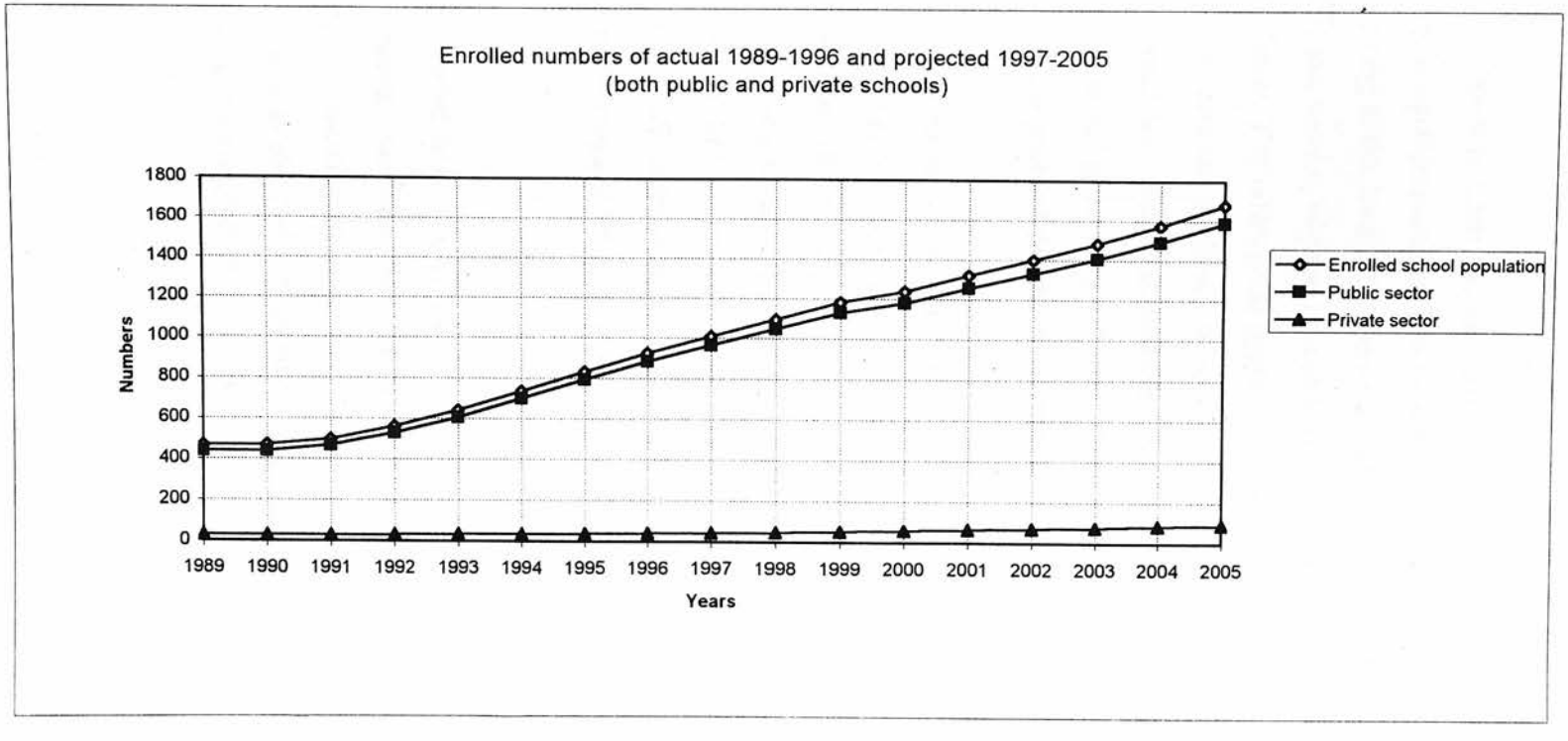
Parents expect their children to have good social skills when they graduate and to have achieved high academic competency in English, Mathematics and Sciences (Sriprasart and others, 1989). Ability in these subjects is of great significance for their future studies because upper secondary school students need to compete in a national entrance examination for entry into state universities. If they score low in these areas then it is likely that they will not be accepted in their chosen fields. As an alternative they may choose to search for the same course offered by open or private universities.

Capacity

Chart 15 Capacity of Upper-secondary education (both in public and in private schools) (1:1000 persons)

Upper-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Enrolled school populatic	467	469	496	561	639	734	830	925	1,010	1,095	1,182	1,240	1,320	1,400	1,484	1,575	1,680
Public sector	436	439	466	529	606	698	792	884	966	1,047	1,129	1,181	1,256	1,330	1,407	1,491	1,588
Private sector	31	30	30	32	34	36	38	41	44	48	53	59	64	70	77	84	92

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 15-18, pp 9-12



Vocational education

At the vocational level, as shown in Chart 16, the capacity of both public and private sectors has been increasing in equal proportions. This indicates that the private sector has been interested in participating at this level. The reason is that the private sector at this level produces better academic success, whereas the public sector's reputation for quality and achievement is much lower. This offers good opportunities for private participation, and their contribution to educational excellence is epitomised by the highly regarded constant supply of commercial and vocational graduates they provide to the business sector. These students have proved to be more efficient, effective and competitive than their counterparts emerging from public vocational schooling.

A particular difference between the two educational sectors is that the state vocational schools use the MOE curriculum, but private schools use Rachamongkol Institution curriculum approved by the MOE. [Rachamongkol institutions were previously known as state vocational colleges, providing vocational education beyond secondary level.] (For more details please refer to part 2 of chapter 2.) The very essences of the two approved curricula are different; the MOE curriculum seems old-fashioned and has failed to respond to a labour market; for example the abacus calculating method is still counted as a subject.

A variety of subjects are offered in vocational schooling. "Commercial" concentration, such as accounting, computing, marketing and secretarial subjects, is popular among female students interested in working in a commercial company, while "Technical vocational" concentration, such as electronics or technical subjects, is favoured by male students interested in working in a manufacturing company.

These two types of schooling should be promoted to support the twelve-year basic educational programme because they are in demand by the labour market. A subject in the Arts, such as painting, printing or sculpting is another choice for students whereas handicrafts, cooking, dress making and agricultural studies, which are offered by state vocational schools are relatively less popular due to the limitation of job opportunities which they create. It is not necessary for each school to offer only one specific subject/field; courses depend upon the capability of each school. Commercial and Technical vocational schooling requires the highest outlay and investment of all types of schooling. Some subjects in commercial field, such as accounting, marketing and the secretarial study, require higher investment compared to other subjects in the same field. It is a fact that general computing skills are essential in business, requiring most commercial vocational schools to have computing facilities which can offer computing skills to their students. It is worth investing in a computer laboratory because it can also be used by students from other fields.

The author's experience shows that small and medium sized vocational schools cannot afford to provide many fields because of the rule that one standard classroom must hold 40 students. If a school with a 20-room facility, for instance, wants to provide these three subjects, there must be nine classrooms for teaching, in addition to other rooms which might be required specifically by each subject, such as an operating room for marketing, accounting, Thai typing, English typing and so forth. This means that it can only enrol students in three classrooms (120 students), one classroom for one subject, when it opens. The reason for this is that students normally do not transfer to a new school to continue their second or third year of studies. Therefore, many classrooms and operating rooms are left empty. These schools are not likely to invest in a computing laboratory or to offer many subjects in the first year of their opening. This obviously presents a problem for private entrepreneurs thinking of investing in vocational schooling. New investors normally do not own a school but rent land and buildings in order to limit their costs.

Since commercial and vocational education is in demand by the labour market, new school investors may find it more worthwhile to pay attention to invest in these spheres if they wish to share the 12-year basic educational provision. The author's experience shows that the proportional incomes to the school of 100 vocational students to 100 primary is 2:1 due to the amount of tuition fee for vocational studies being twice that of primary or secondary schooling. In the double-shift system, there are two groups of students: the first group attends their morning class and leaves in the afternoon; while the second group comes in the late afternoon and leaves in the evening. This is allowed by the MOE, therefore, the double intakes result in more income for schools by doubling the number of enrolments without expanding their resources. Staff can increase their income by teaching extra hours. Although working hours last from morning to evening, 2-3 rest hours in the afternoon before classes could be enough for relaxation. It should not affect the teaching and learning quality. Furthermore, vocational education has more privileges than other levels because the MOE allows the operating of the double-shift system. This can bring double intakes with its existing resources and staff. This raises the gross incomes to 4:1 compared to other levels.

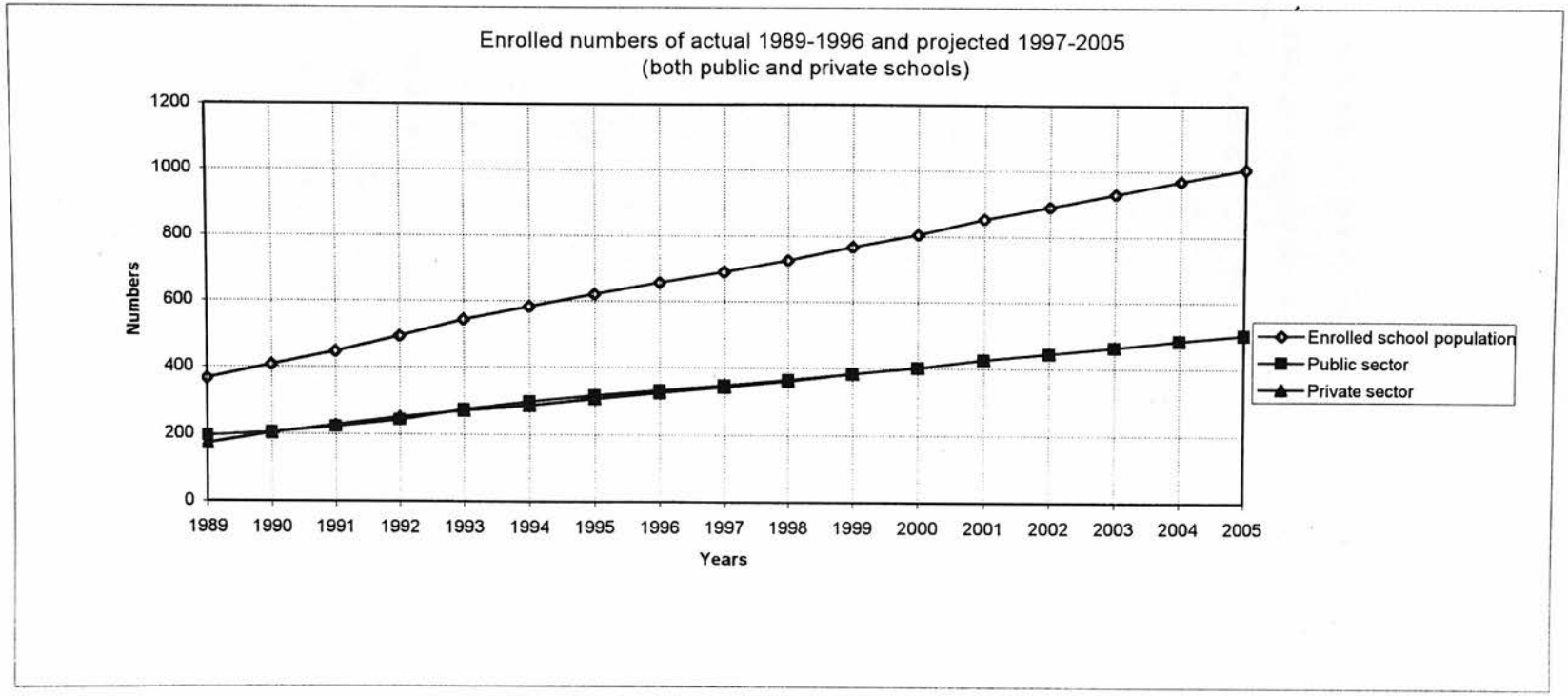
The possibility of having full enrolment in both shifts is possible because there are two groups of customers. The author's experience shows that students who come from lower secondary schools are willing to study in the first shift and spend the rest of the day doing their own activities or part time jobs; whereas working people and those from a non-formal education, who wish to upgrade their qualification, prefer to attend the schools after work hours. It should be noted that the quality of graduates from non-formal lower secondary level is unlikely to be acceptable for them to continue their studies at this level; as discussed earlier in Chapter 5 many have difficulties in reading and writing. This may bring about an unfavourable quality standard of graduates and schools.

Capacity

Chart 16 Capacity of Vocational education (both in public and in private schools) (1:1000 persons)

Vocational education	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Enrolled school populati	366	408	448	494	544	583	621	656	689	726	767	805	852	890	930	969	1,005
Public sector	194	205	222	243	273	297	316	332	347	365	384	403	426	445	465	485	503
Private sector	172	203	226	251	270	286	306	324	342	362	384	403	426	445	465	485	503

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 15-18, pp 9-12



Capacity: Financial aspects (budgetary allocation for educational provision)

According to the 1997 Constitution of Thailand, basic education consists of a compulsory primary education of six years; at the higher levels (lower secondary, upper secondary or vocational education) there exists a further six years of voluntary education. Public education at these levels is financed by the central national budget which covers state-school building, the salaries of state teachers and those of ancillary staff and administrators (Thailand, 1997).

At present in 1998, primary level education in state-run or public schools is free, whereas in private schools tuition fees are charged. At higher levels, the government allocates a central budget to support the state schools so that school fees are as low as 1,000 baht (or £ 20) per annum. It should be added that these fees are for the Thai curriculum, none of the public schools provide instruction in English. In private schools, which were established before 1974, the government subsidises 40 % of expenditure per capita (i.e. per pupil), and school fees are limited to 60 % of expenditure per capita; the expenditure per pupil is not allowed to exceed a ceiling set by the Ministry of Education. The remaining post-1974 private schools are allowed to charge full school fees which normally work out at 100 % of public school expenditure per capita, but the fees still cannot be higher than the ceiling set by the Ministry of Education. The amount of fees varies depending upon the level of education; for example, the fees for primary school education are lower than those for secondary education.

Financial capacity in terms of state budgetary allocation of the educational provision between 1985 and 1995 is shown in Tables 23, 24 and 25. Table 23 shows the expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product.

Table 23: Educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product fiscal years 1985-1995

Year	Educational expenditure £ millions (£1 = 50 Baht)	GDP £ millions (£1 = 50 Baht)	Educational Expenditures as a Percentage of GDP (%)
1985	£ 771.31	£ 21,129.92	3.70
1986	£ 788.77	£ 22,667.94	3.50
1987	£ 822.22	£ 25,998.26	3.20
1988	£ 877.21	£ 31,996.08	2.80
1989	£ 947.16	£ 37,139.84	2.60
1990	£ 1,199.24	£ 43,821.88	2.70
1991	£ 1,497.21	£ 50,392.36	3.00
1992	£ 1,713.29	£ 56,665.54	3.00
1993	£ 2,161.39	£ 63,227.48	3.40
1994	£ 2,439.46	£ 69,980.00	3.50
1995	£ 2,706.18	£ 78,720.00	3.40
Average			3.16

Sources: the National Education Commission, Office of the Prime Minister (NEC, 1977b; 1982; 1987b; 1992c)

As is shown in Table 23, public expenditure on education for the year 1995 amounted to £ 2,706.18 million, and accounted for 3.4 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. Between 1985 and 1995, it averaged 3.16 % per annum.

The educational expenditure can been seen as a percentage of the national budget between 1985 and 1995, as shown in table 24 below.

Table 24: Educational expenditures as a percentage of the national budget: fiscal year 1985-1995

	Educational expenditure £ millions £1 = 50 Baht	National budget (NB) £ millions £1 = 50 Baht	Proportion of ed. expenditure within the national budget (%)
1985	£ 771.31	£ 4,180.00	18.50
1986	£ 788.77	£ 4,233.00	18.60
1987	£ 822.22	£ 4,550.00	18.10
1988	£ 877.21	£ 4,870.00	18.00
1989	£ 947.16	£ 5,710.00	16.60
1990	£ 1,199.24	£ 6,700.00	17.90
1991	£ 1,497.21	£ 7,750.00	19.30
1992	£ 1,713.29	£ 9,208.00	18.60
1993	£ 2,161.39	£ 11,200.00	19.30
1994	£ 2,439.46	£ 12,500.00	19.50
1995	£ 2,706.18	£ 14,300.00	18.90
Average			18.48

Source: the National Education Commission, Office of the Prime Minister (NEC, 1977b; 1982; 1987b; 1992c)

When discussing the growth in the number of areas, which receive state budgetary finance, questions of priority arise. In general the possibility of an increase in the education budget depends on the proportion of the national budget that it has previously consumed, and on other claims on the national finances. According to Table 24, between 1985 and 1995, the Thai Government allocated an increasing amount to education expenditure every year.

Although the absolute amount allocated to education has become higher each year, educational expenditure as a percentage of the national budget seems to have been maintained at a roughly constant level averaging 18.48% over those ten years.

Table 25 aims to compare the size of the percentage increase in gross domestic product, national budget and educational expenditure between 1985-1995.

Table 25: Comparison of gross domestic product, national budget and education budget annual percentage increases, fiscal years 1985-1995

	GDP £ millions (£1 = 50 Baht)	% increase	NB £ millions (£1 = 50 Baht)	% increase	Ed. exp. £ millions (£1 = 50 Baht)	% increase
1985	£ 21,129.92		£ 4,180.00		£ 771.31	
1986	£ 22,667.94	7.28	£ 4,233.00	1.27	£ 788.77	2.26
1987	£ 25,998.26	14.69	£ 4,550.00	7.49	£ 822.22	4.24
1988	£ 31,996.08	23.07	£ 4,870.00	7.03	£ 877.21	6.69
1989	£ 37,139.84	16.08	£ 5,710.00	17.25	£ 947.16	7.97
1990	£ 43,821.88	17.99	£ 6,700.00	17.34	£ 1,199.24	26.61
1991	£ 50,392.36	14.99	£ 7,750.00	15.67	£ 1,497.21	24.85
1992	£ 56,665.54	12.45	£ 9,208.00	18.81	£ 1,713.29	14.43
1993	£ 63,227.48	11.58	£ 11,200.00	21.63	£ 2,161.39	26.15
1994	£ 69,980.00	10.68	£ 12,500.00	11.61	£ 2,439.46	12.87
1995	£ 78,720.00	12.49	£ 14,300.00	14.40	£ 2,706.18	10.93
Average		14.13		13.25		13.70

Source: the National Education Commission, Office of the Prime Minister (NEC, 1977b; 1982; 1987b; 1992c)

In table 25 the increasing educational expenditure reflects a changing appreciation of the utility of education for national development. It shows that the size of the budget allocation for education fluctuated between the fiscal years of 1985-1995. This is because it depends upon: 1) an increase in the total educational budget; 2) redistribution of central budget allocations amongst all government agencies and departments. This makes it impossible to investigate the limitation of the budget for educational provision by comparing aspects mentioned. Between 1985 and 1995 the average rate of the increase in the educational budgetary allocation worked out at 13.70%, but from 1990 to 1995 the average rate worked out at 19.31%. The capacity of the public budgets to meet the additional educational expenditure needed to provide basic education for all depends on fiscal and cost factors, as shown in Table 26 below.

Table 26: State expenditure, fiscal year 1997 (Unit: £ millions, £ 1 = 50 Baht)

National expenditure	Fiscal year 1997
Education	£ 4,147.59
Social services	£ 3,019.94
Defence	£ 2,290.35
General administration	£ 2,213.68
Transport and communications	£ 1,792.38
Agriculture	£ 1,616.25
Public health	£ 1,488.12
Debt service	£ 933.15
Internal security	£ 862.95
Science, technology and environment	£ 363.82
Commerce	£ 133.85
Industry	£ 57.56
Total	£ 18,919.64

Source: Bank of Thailand, 1997

In 1997, although the economic crisis started in the middle of this year, among the various sectors receiving government financing, the educational budget ranked first, as shown in Table 26. [A national budget in a fiscal year is normally set in October each year.] A long term increased deficit in the current account results in economic recession and the growth drops suddenly, (for greater detail see Chapter 7 under the subtitle "the national economy"). It should be noted that in this year the amount of the budget given to education is higher than those incurred during the economic boom between 1990 and 1995. In 1997 it amounts to £4,147.59 million whereas between 1990 and 1995 the amounts are £1,199.24, £1,497.21, £1,713.29, £2,161.39, £2,439.46, £2,706.18 million respectively.

Towards the middle of 1997 there was an economic recession effecting not only Thailand but also another four countries in Asia; namely Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and South Korea, as shown in Table 27 below:

Table 27: Growth rates of Asian crisis countries (GDP Changes in percent)

Country	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**
Indonesia	8.0	6.6	-4.8
Philippines	5.5	4.9	2.4
Thailand	6.7	0.4	-3.0
Malaysia	8.2	7.0	1.6
South Korea	7.0	5.5	-1.5

Source: Goldberg, J. (1998). A Break in the Globalisation Process: The role of Foreign Indebtedness. in *Development and Co-operation*. No.5-1998. Sep.-Oct. pp.12-14.

Towards the middle of 1997, the economy of Thailand experienced the start of a downward swing. Economic growth dropped suddenly and precipitously from 6% in 1996 to a mere 2 % in 1997 (Bank of Thailand, 1997). [The figure from the Bank of Thailand differs in table 27 because it may be an estimated percentage.] It was predicted that the country might suffer zero or perhaps negative growth in 1998, depending on the stability of the local Thai currency, which was also affected by the fluctuations of other Asian currencies, such as those of South Korean and Indonesia. No one can be certain about the immediate future financial stability and future economic growth of the country. This may affect not only the size of the national budget and hence the education reform plan, but also the willingness of poorer parents in enrol their children in school. Evidence of non-enrolment in primary and lower-secondary schooling has been found by the NEC, as poorer parents prefer their children to work in order to supplement their family income (NEC, 1992d) (for greater detail please see Chapter 7 under the subtitle: feasibility analysis of the twelve-year basic educational provision).

Educational expenditure: capital and operating costs

The national annual budget allocation for schooling is approved by the House of Parliament. The state income for this budget is raised mainly from three sources: (i) the Customs department in the form of import and export duties, (ii) the Revenue department in the form of personal or juristic income taxes, land and property taxes as well as the 10% value added tax (VAT) and (iii) the Excise Department in the form of duties, taxes and royalties levied on goods and commodities produced and/or sold within the country, especially petroleum products, natural gas and beverages.

It should be noted that between 1985 and 1995 the state was able to provide sufficient funds, amounting to 11-17% of GDP, for each year's national budget (NEC, 1977b; 1982; 1987b; 1992c). In 1998 the state expects to earmark a sum of 150,077,152,500 Baht (£ 3,001,543,050) for education out of a total annual national budget of 823,000,000,000 Baht (£ 16,460,000,000) (Thailand, 1997b). Up until 1995 Thailand has managed its economic and educational affairs without running into debt. However, the 12-year basic education reform is very costly. It may be financially difficult for the state to cope with this reform using only internal state sources of financing.

Due to the crisis, the financial status of the country presents problems. The annual budget for 1998 had to be adjusted and readjusted four times in succession to cope with shortfalls in government revenue. A deficit budget was a grave dilemma for the government to face. On the one hand, the fiscal revenues of the country, mainly from direct and indirect taxes continued to drop throughout 1997, due to a lack of liquidity and a severe slowdown in business transactions across the country.

A whole array of increased taxes imposed by the government, such as value added tax (VAT) on the sale of goods, which raise from 7 to 10 %, and the levy of import taxes on luxury goods have not proved adequate for raising sufficient funds for the state coffers (Bank of Thailand, 1997b). Although the Thai Government believes that the International Monetary Fund's rescue package will bring about economic recovery, there is no guarantee of this from the IMF. It is noted by Sachs (1999) that the success of the IMF rescue package is only 50% - five successes and five failures. This may be a great danger for countries in an economic recession. He pointed out the case of failure in Brazil's economic recovery could be an example that this may happen to Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea and Russia. Particularly if these governments trade too much of their foreign currency against their local currency in an attempt to stabilise their own currency (Sachs, 1999).

It is necessary to make it clear that a 0% growth rate in GDP does not mean there is no income. Although Thailand's economic recession in 1997 affected the size of the national budget, it had no impact on the size of educational budget. According to Ministry of Finance, it managed to reallocate the national budget adjusting some claims to compensate others. Since educational provision is the most important aspect, the budget allocation for education was still increased to ensure its adequacy. The amount of the educational budget in 1998 was not affected by the recession but was even higher than last year's budget, as shown in table 28, next page. It has risen 8.80% - from £4,147.59 in 1997 to £4,547.81 in 1998.

Table 28: Expenditure breakdown: fiscal year 1997-1998 (Unit: million pound, 1£ =50 baht)

National expenditures	1997	1998	+/- (%)
Education	£ 4,147.59	£ 4,547.81	8.80
Social services	£ 3,019.94	£ 2,706.12	- 11.60
Defense	£ 2,290.35	£ 2,317.24	1.16
General administration	£ 2,213.68	£ 2,248.71	1.56
Transport & Communications	£ 1,792.38	£ 2,235.56	19.82
Agriculture	£ 1,616.25	£ 1,523.70	- 6.07
Public health	£ 1,488.12	£ 1,511.37	1.54
Debt service	£ 933.15	£ 901.89	- 3.47
Internal security	£ 862.95	£ 1,017.33	15.17
Science, Technology & Environment	£ 363.82	£ 414.69	12.27
Commerce	£ 133.85	£ 141.69	5.54
Industry	£ 57.56	£ 73.89	22.10
Total	£ 18,919.64	£ 19,640.00	

Source: Ministry of Finance, 1998 (Government unpublished data)

It has been discovered that the size of educational budget is not directly relative to the recession because it is not calculated and allocated in proportion to the national budget. The formulation of the annual educational budget, based on the cost of providing the facilities, equipment and staffing for state schooling, involves various state agencies.

> The proposal for the annual budget allocation for education is made by each department and office in the Ministry of Education and the Municipal governments under the control of the Department of Local Administration reporting to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, in response to their responsibility and jurisdiction. However, these departments have to submit their budget requirements to the NEC for scrutiny before receiving approval from the National Budget Bureau (Author's field note based on a panel discussion with Pimolsatian, S. (Director); Krairuk, A. (budget analyst 7); Thiraporn, T. (budget analyst 6), Office of Educational Budget Analysis, Budget Bureau, Ministry of Finance, group interview on 21 August, 1997, 9.00-12.40)

The calculation of the total annual education cost is based on the concept of "operating" and "capital" costs. Principally the "operating" cost is so called because it varies according to the number of pupils enrolling each year. If there are no children, the operating cost will be nil. The "capital" cost is for investing in school buildings and facilities whether there are school attenders or not. Therefore, the total educational cost is the sum of operating cost and capital cost.

In practice, to specify the likely range of the annual educational budget, "minimum" and "maximum" costs are determined by the NEC. The "minimum cost" is firstly set at 100% of the "operating cost". This is done to ensure that all operating costs, such as salaries, wages and welfare funds for staff, consumable teaching and learning materials, and public utility charges, are covered. The "maximum cost" is calculated by adding on 20% of the operating cost to the minimum cost. This 20% acts as a standby budget should state school facilities need to be constructed or expanded.

Bearing in mind the above mentioned formula, the relevant government agencies set about calculating the annual educational budget allocation; however, according to information form a panel discussion it can be concluded that

> there is no single study on finance for the nine and twelve year schemes of basic educational provision. At this stage, if the government takes responsibility for all finance for the 12–year education programme, there may not be sufficient funds available without private participation. However, the state should not encourage more private participation by providing financial subsidies (Author's field note based on a panel discussion with Pimolsatian, S. (Director); Krairuk, a. (budget analyst 7); Thiraporn, T. (budget analyst 6), Office of Educational Budget Analysis, Budget Bureau, Ministry of Finance, group interview on 21 August, 1997, 9.00-12.40)

The educational budget allocation varies according to the number of pupils attending each school in each academic year. To calculate this, figures per capita pupil expenditure at each level are multiplied by the number of school attenders to determine the total educational expenditure. The relevant government agencies then contribute 100% of the educational expenditure (operating costs) to each public school according to the number of pupils they have.

For private schools, the OPEC of the MOE calculates the amount of their financial subsidy based on the above-mentioned method, providing subsidies of 40 % of expenditure per capita at each level multiplied by the number of private school pupils enrolled at each year level.

The subsidised private schools receive 40% of educational costs as income from the government's central budget, and are allowed to charge the remaining 60% to parents or guardians in order to make up the remaining costs. By contrast, the private schools without subsidy are allowed to charge the full 100 %. This 100% equals the ceiling rate of educational fees set by the OPEC. In other words, the amount of the tuition fees for

these private schools equals their particular education costs. [The tuition fees at each level vary according to the cost of education.] However, applying this principle to private schools presents a significant problem for their financial management. This is due the fact that the 40% of the income received from the subsidy and the 60 % of the income received by charging school fees to parents, are based on minimum or nominal break-even educational costs when set against actual expenditure. This "break-even" point may well prove inadequate.

By contrast, public schools can receive supplementary funding for their operating costs by proposing a project to raise the school's standards or improve its services to a higher managerial level. For example, the cost of the free lunch programme in state primary schools in 1996 reached 412,258,000 baht (or £8,245,160) (Ministry of Finance, 1995: 243). In addition, there is further additional funding for state teachers, provision of teaching equipment, social and welfare schemes for teachers and staff, subsidised housing rents, help with renting property, and various other projects (Ministry of Finance, 1995).

The author's experience suggests that private schools often face financial difficulties during the first 3-4 months of the first and second terms. This is because the subsidy is only received after all the pupils or/and students are registered and a report of number of students sent to and approved by the OPEC. The OPEC will then send officials to inspect the registration book, and count the number of children in each class. As a result, there is usually some delay in the approval of the subsidy. Sometimes private schools only receive the subsidy in the second term and, therefore, have to depend on the 60% charged to the parents.

In addition to this, some private schools are not able to collect all of their fees as parents may initially pay 10 % of the fee as a deposit, and pay the rest during or at the end of the term, or even at the end of the second term. Non-payment for long periods is a major problem for private schools (Questionnaire, question no.3). The problem is the same in the case of non-subsidised private schools, but the situation may be even worse if the school does not have a reserve fund to pay teachers' salaries.

Because the fee ceiling is calculated by the method described above, it is clear that private schools' income is insufficient. From the research, it can be argued that two thirds of private schools (66.66%) lack sufficient income to invest more in educational development, or even to maintain their businesses properly (Questionnaire, question no. 2.1). This results in loss of profit for private schools, and their eventual collapse (observation, Office of the National statistics, OPEC), a finding which is confirmed by the unpublished data from the OPEC showing that every year a number of private schools tend to close down. For instance, in 1997, 46 private schools closed down, of which 22 were in Bangkok and 24 in the provinces (Participant observation, Statistical Division, OPEC).

The only introduction of a private school in 1997 was my vocational school. It may be an extraordinary idea to open it during the recession, however this was made possible because one building from my existing primary school and part of the land was divided for vocational education. There is no heavy investment in construction, except for refurbishment of building and the buying of new learning and teaching equipment. It was found that the crisis does not affect students' enrolment. In the first year there are 450 students in two-shift system and in the second year there are 750 students. It is estimated that it will reach 1,000 students by the third year. However this will overload the school intake capacity and expansion in the school buildings will be required.

It is evident that because the ceiling on private school fees set by the OPEC is calculated on a supposed break-even or minimum educational cost, these fees can only cover operating costs when the school is enrolled to full capacity. Private school fees exclude fixed costs, yet by contrast, the public sector does not have to invest in land, nor the cost of buildings. Indeed the additional fixed cost supplement of 20% tops up the variable cost pay outs.

In responding to the demands for the provision of the 12-year basic education programme, the private sector and new entrepreneurs may seek loans from commercial banks. However, they have to do so at their own financial risks. This presents a serious problem for those private schools seeking to expand their classrooms or buildings to enact that twelve-year basic education policy.

In this thesis, it should be noted that for the purpose of analysis, in the calculation in Chart 16 on the next page, and for the purpose of analysis, the capital cost per child has not been added in annually, since the same amount of office equipment, school buildings and facilities is not consumed or purchased each year. These are durable goods which can be used indefinitely, especially the classrooms and playgrounds, so only the operating costs are used for calculating educational costs.

The purpose of showing the total cost for both the public and private sectors is to define the concept of educational costs in terms of finance. The operating costs of both the public and the private (without subsidy) sectors are shown as the minimum amounts contributed by the state budget and the private sector, as referred to in Chart 17: Capacity in terms of finance (all levels) over the period 1989-2005. The figures are based on actual and projected school attenders. More details will be discussed in the feasibility phase in Chapter 7.

Chart 17 Financial capacity of educational provision of each level

Exchange rate £1 = 50 baht

Capacity	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Primary	£ 757,575.90	£ 765,222.24	£ 792,528.54	£ 848,622.36	£ 892,858.18	£ 930,785.16	£ 1,020,339.56
Lower secondary	£ 181,928.39	£ 208,728.62	£ 244,045.24	£ 299,965.46	£ 365,329.68	£ 430,860.17	£ 502,240.80
Upper secondary	£ 54,318.73	£ 54,813.87	£ 59,220.44	£ 73,928.99	£ 93,501.26	£ 116,935.48	£ 145,347.57
Vocational	£ 86,773.57	£ 110,475.16	£ 138,634.81	£ 167,228.74	£ 200,891.47	£ 230,767.30	£ 271,345.20
Total x 1000	£ 1,080,596.59	£ 1,139,239.89	£ 1,234,429.03	£ 1,389,745.55	£ 1,552,580.59	£ 1,709,348.11	£ 1,939,273.14

Capacity	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Primary	£ 1,105,402.89	£ 1,226,686.67	£ 1,340,096.04	£ 1,470,388.37	£ 1,610,700.39	£ 1,760,981.79	£ 1,928,535.33
Lower secondary	£ 583,333.02	£ 671,092.34	£ 750,296.68	£ 822,006.47	£ 916,299.44	£ 1,049,049.88	£ 1,216,658.72
Upper secondary	£ 179,929.00	£ 220,305.61	£ 265,420.67	£ 316,608.18	£ 369,215.50	£ 434,949.03	£ 512,651.36
Vocational	£ 332,338.14	£ 375,650.74	£ 441,387.07	£ 518,604.34	£ 605,616.15	£ 708,049.01	£ 819,481.61
Total x 1000	£ 2,201,003.04	£ 2,493,735.37	£ 2,797,200.44	£ 3,127,607.37	£ 3,501,831.49	£ 3,953,029.71	£ 4,477,327.02

Capacity	2003	2004	2005
Primary	£ 2,107,483.70	£ 2,299,388.45	£ 2,508,992.53
Lower secondary	£ 1,388,775.49	£ 1,561,455.14	£ 1,737,024.24
Upper secondary	£ 598,502.43	£ 705,975.99	£ 830,776.52
Vocational	£ 948,386.16	£ 1,092,730.05	£ 1,251,085.86
Total x 1000	£ 5,043,147.78	£ 5,659,549.63	£ 6,327,879.16

Chart 17 (continue) Finanical capacity of education provision of each level
Exchange rate £1 = 50 baht

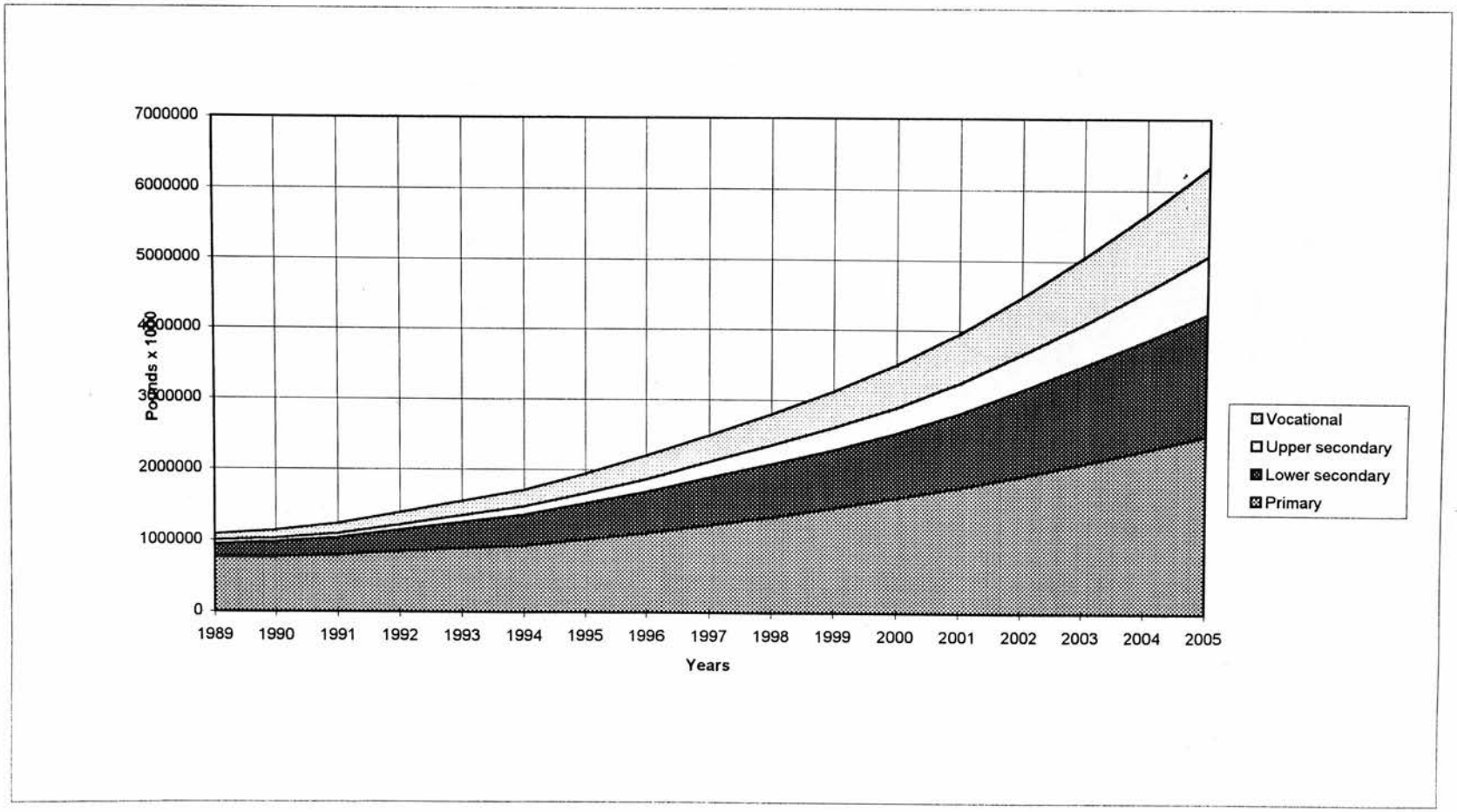


Chart 21 shows a big gap in vocational education feasibility. The projection indicates that even if the public and the private sectors maintain an increasing rate of capacity, vocational education may not be feasible since there will be an inadequate number places to support vocational students. From the projection in Chart 21, it can be seen that there has been an increased intake from 365,900 in 1989 to 689,000 in 1997. If the state intends to be the sole provider of vocational education, the result will be an infeasibility, unless the government sets aside an allocation of the budget for the expansion of vocational schools, technical schools and professional vocational schools.

Currently, since the Board of Industrial Investment took responsibility for the country's economy, many projects and factories in Bangkok and surrounding urban areas have been developed. In 1996, the rate of expansion in the agricultural sector was increasing slowly at a slow annual rate of 3%, while in the industrial sector it was increasing at 7.5 %; in the construction sector it was 6% while other areas were expanding at 6.5% (NESDB, 1997). The economic crisis in 1997 may reduce the demand for workers in industrial and agricultural sectors. However, the need for a more highly educated workforce is growing; for example, the textile weaving industry, which formerly engaged workers with primary school qualifications, has begun to engage workers who have been educated beyond the primary level (NEC, 1993). This suggests that the present workers with only primary or lower secondary backgrounds need to upgrade their qualifications. This may be done through non-formal education or on the job short-term training in some specifically required skills. This suggests that in the short run the industrial sector will demand new workers with a vocational education.

In summary it can be seen that the relationship between the requirement and the capacity in normal and abnormal times is going to follow this pattern. This is due to the entire school age population being specified as a variable for calculation in terms of places and finance requirements. This cannot be affected by economic crisis. The Thai public and private schooling will serve the school age population with the 12-year basic education programme.

One the other hand, concerning the capacity, the number of school students is specified as a variable for calculation in terms of places and finance capacity for 12-year basic education. This represents the ability for providing schooling. It includes both public and private schools.

Although in real situation the crisis may affect the amount of school enrolment in the future, the capacity to support these students is still there. The capacity in this calculation cannot be affected by the crisis. This calculation aims to measure the ability to expand schooling for the 12-year basic education and is based on the retention rate of the schools students.

As we see in this chapter, the Requirements and Capacity are the first two phases which are covered by the Contingency Approach. These are essential to identify the possibility for providing the 12-year basic education programme. In the Chapter 7, the gap between Requirement and Capacity will be seen in Feasibility of 12-year basic education programme.

Chapter 7: The Revised Contingency Approach Model to Analysis for the Basic Educational Reform Plan: Feasibility and Implementation of a Twelve-year Basic Educational Provision

This chapter illustrates the third and fourth phases of the Contingency Approach. It analyses the gap between the Requirements and Capacity for basic education and leads to a critical feasibility analysis which takes into account environmental aspects: the environmental uncertainty, the readiness of the population, the readiness of the public sector, the readiness of the private sector, the equality of access to schooling. It finally reaches the Implementation.

The "requirements", as already discussed, are defined as the school age population in the formal education system requiring places in schools. The term is used as an indicator because it is the target the government has to achieve for the basic twelve-year education programme if it is to provide educational opportunities for the whole school age population by the year 2001. "Capacity" is defined as the quantity of school facilities in formal education that are available to support the school age populations at each level each year. Private facilities are included in this capacity.

"Feasibility" can be understood as the outcome of a comparison between the "Requirement" and the "Capacity" phases. If the educational reform requirement is equal to the national capacity, supplying the educational provision will then be feasible. If not, the feasibility assessment indicates the gap between the educational requirement and the capacity.

Primary education

In Chart 18, the curve of the enrolled primary school population or school attenders shows a decline. This is due to the effect of a decreasing population growth rate and to the large number of deaths caused by AIDS, mentioned in the requirement phase in Chapter 6. According to the projection, between 1995 and 2005 the number of school age population and school attenders will decrease gradually. In Chart 18 in 1998 the requirement for primary schooling amounts to 5,860,000 whereas there is a greater capacity of 6,486,000. It can be concluded that the capacity at the primary education level, inclusive of private schools, is adequate for the future primary school age population based on the 1989 capacity of 6.9 million. For these reasons, primary education should be feasible in terms the school facilities already available.

Even though primary education is compulsory, enrolment is not fully effective. In 1994, there were 681,100 non-enrolled children (NEC, 1995b). These children mostly lived in fairly small remote villages; those who are needed to support their poor families are exempted by law from compulsory education. Among 7-14 year-olds there are about 100,000 disabled children of whom 65 % attend the state's special and welfare schools. Only 5 % of these children, who are able to learn alongside normal school pupils are educated in mainstream public and private schools (NEC, 1995b). The rest of non-enrolled children were homeless or street children, children whose nationalities were unidentified, children who worked, slum dwellers, hill-tribe villagers and people from different cultures.

This is a result of the social and public welfare services not being capable of providing for the whole population, especially those in rural and remote areas. Some children were born at home; many of these have not been registered with the local registries which are situated in the municipal area in towns. The numbers of non-registered children are not known. Most of these children miss the chance for compulsory education.

In addition, problems of educational provision at this level are still present. 3 % of public schools in 1995 were considered "small" due to low enrolment. Most of these had less than 120 pupils. This 3%, numbering around 1,000 public schools, are expected to close down as a consequence of the policy of the previous minister of education for reducing state educational costs, according to which small sized schools are considered financially impractical (NEC, 1995b).

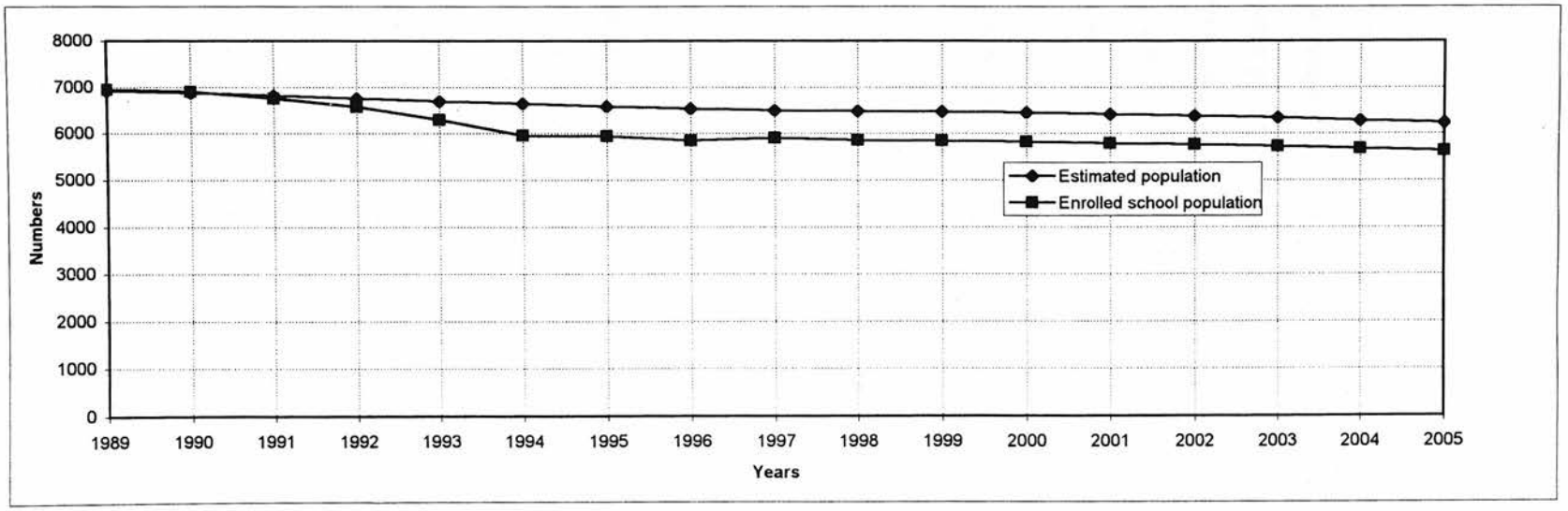
During the field research it emerged that the minister of education, had introduced a policy in 1997 that considered these small schools as not economically effective and that they should, therefore, be closed down. This policy has not been continued as the minister of education has been changed three times during 1997 and 1998. However, in reality it is not possible to do so as it would inevitably lead to dropouts, as students in these schools refuse to travel a longer distance to other schools in other areas.

These schools encounter the same problems as some small private schools. A lack of pupils means that class sizes are much smaller than their full capacity which is normally approximately 40-60 children. 14.49% of private schools are small sized (less than 300 pupils); 19.57% are medium sized (300-500 pupils) (Questionnaire, question no. 1.1). Since it is still necessary to provide a teacher for a class of less than 20 pupils, the cost of each child's education is much higher. This is the main reason for the financial problems encountered by these small schools.

Chart 18 Feasibility of primary education (1:1000 Persons)

Primary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	6,924	6,876	6,812	6,754	6,698	6,640	6,579	6,531	6,504	6,486	6,470	6,450	6,411	6,373	6,336	6,285	6,235
Enrolled school population	6,950	6,903	6,753	6,574	6,288	5,959	5,938	5,849	5,900	5,860	5,845	5,821	5,785	5,760	5,722	5,675	5,630
	- 26	- 27	59	180	410	681	641	682	604	626	625	629	626	613	614	610	605

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 7-10, p5-6



Lower secondary level

The projection on Chart 19 shows an increase in the capacity to support the higher demand for lower secondary education. Since 1987, voluntary lower secondary education has been provided free of charge in some public schools. This began with a pilot project in 38 state schools. In 1989 the ONPEC was instructed to operate free lower secondary education in its own 216 primary schools which had expanded their facilities. In 1992 state schools belonging to the municipalities were allowed to provide free lower secondary education (NEC, 1995b). Between 1987 and 1989 none of these was compulsory. Since then the government has started to undertake expansion of the length of basic education to nine years, by gradually enlarging the provision of school buildings in some state schools. However, between 1987 and 1998 lower secondary education, lasting 3 years beyond primary schooling, had still not been made compulsory.

The state has used this as a starting point with which to expand its capacity to support the higher demand in lower-secondary education. This is made possible by expanding the existing primary school facilities belonging to the ONPEC in the MOE and municipal schools belonging to the MOIA. State secondary schools belonging to Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education have continued their own operations and established more new secondary schools.

Chart 19 shows that the high demand for schooling resulted in a doubling of the total number of children enrolled in the lower secondary level from 1,397,800 in 1989 to 2,709,000 in 1997 and, according to the projection, enrolment will continue to rise at a moderate rate between 1999 and 2005. The strategies for encouraging more primary pupils in these primary schools to continue their studies are the recommendations from their own teachers. Pupils are pointed out the necessity of receiving higher education. This increase in the number of lower secondary students may be due to the fact that the state has introduced attractive measures to achieve the goal of increased educational opportunity, such as the waiving of tuition fees and provision of free textbooks. In addition according to Schiefelbien and Simmons (1981) availability of textbooks is associated with student achievement. It is found that in Thailand the use of text books benefits teachers and students of lower secondary level because it "enables teachers to make better use of classroom time, however, or that they encouraged the assignment or comprehension of homework" (Lockheed et al, 1986: 379).

However free, lower-secondary education is operated in schools of ONPEC in the MOE and of MOIA municipal primary schools which have expanded their facilities. The state secondary schools belonging to the General Education Department in the MOE are not free of charge. Between 1999 and 2005 there has, therefore, been a decrease in the number of non-enrolled children so that the actual proportion of lower school attenders to those school age population was increasing annually. Perhaps they or their parents realise how important education is, and how the government supports their studies.

From Chart 19, it can be concluded that between 1998 and 2001 the provision of facilities to meet the demand for lower secondary level education will not be met, thus making the plan for 12 years of basic education infeasible. This is because although the gap between the two projected curves becomes smaller, they do not meet during this period. It is a

likelihood, according to this projection, that the twelve-year basic education scheme will have to be postponed until lower secondary education is made feasible, which is expected to be after the year 2005.

In 1984 the average ratio was one state secondary school for every three districts in a province; in 1994 the ratio was improved to one state school for every district (NEC, 1995b). However, the author's experience shows that, owing to the high numbers of children in some districts, the state has allowed the public schools to enrol more children in lower secondary level classes than the standard. [The standard limit of children per class is 40.] Due to the higher enrolment, the state required the primary schools under the control of The Office of the Primary Education Commission, the municipalities, and Pataya City and Bangkok Metropolitan Administration to extend facilities for providing lower secondary education. Between 1992 and 1996, 2,186 state secondary schools under the Department of General Education and 4,322 primary schools of the ONPEC were expanded to support lower-secondary education (NEC, 1995b: 13).

The state expansion of lower-secondary schooling was designed to provide more classrooms for new entrants. Children were also given the opportunity to attend the state school closest to their homes. However, since some schools lack space for enlargement; the expansion of buildings cannot be made available to every state primary school. Although at face value these figures seem impressive, it was found that in 1994 there were no state secondary schools in about 200 residential areas in six provinces: Krabi, Karnchanaburi, Burirum, Srakaew, Ubolrajthani, and Narathiwas (NEC, 1996). This gave rise to the inconvenience of having to travel long distances between home and school, which obstructed enrolling.

In view of all this, it may be argued that, in its attempt to unlock the doors of learning opportunity countrywide, the government needs to enact supporting measures, such as providing more school facilities, expanding educational services, improving teaching-

learning methods and aiding management; otherwise children from the outlying localities of various provinces will have to leave school and miss the opportunity to continue their studies.

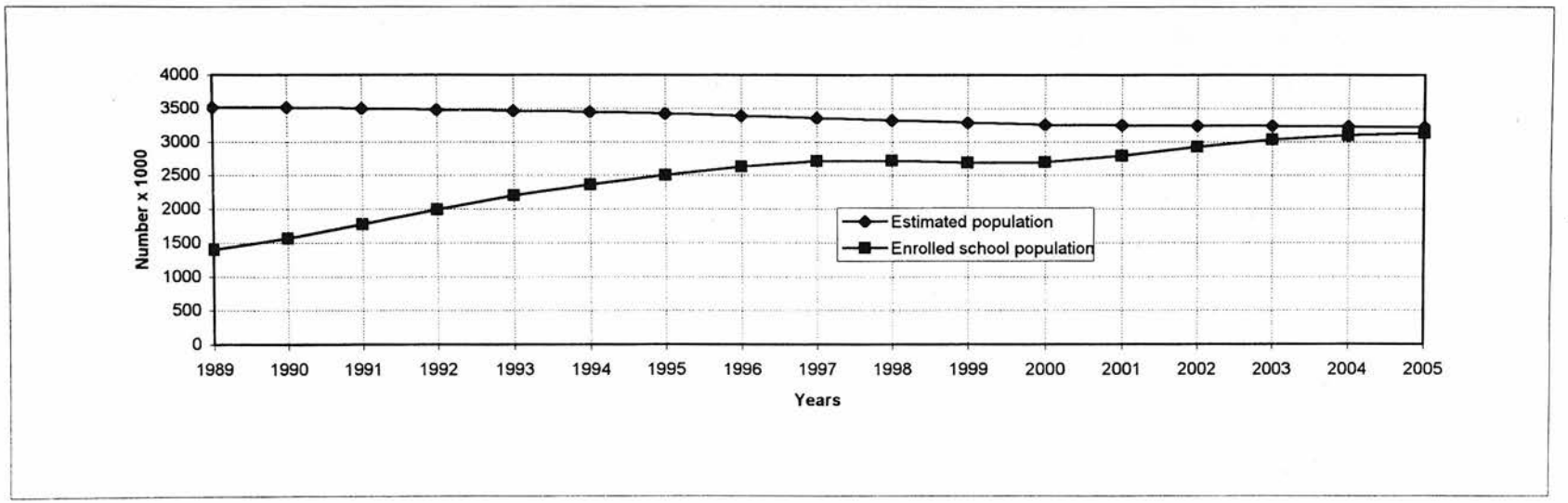
With respect to educational equality at the lower secondary level, the evidence suggests that the transition rate from primary to lower secondary level improves according to area of residence and family income. For instance, in the Bangkok Metropolitan area, the transition percentage of primary pupils to lower secondary level was 96 % in 1987, increasing to 100% in 1994 (NEC, 1995b). By contrast, in the less affluent southern region, the transition percentage to lower secondary level was 44% in 1987, increasing to 75% in 1994; and in the Northeast region, the transition percentage was 25 % in 1987, increasing to 78% in 1994 (NEC, 1995b). This shows that the income disparities between rural and urban areas remain a significant problem affecting children's continuation from primary to lower secondary.

In short, given that the number of students is increasing each year, although the school age population is decreasing, where the capacity for lower secondary level provision is increasing according to the projection in Chart 19, the state will be able to provide the more limited nine-year basic education programme with private participation for the whole school age population in the near future. However, depending on its policy, if the state aims to provide it solely without private participation it could be possible to do so in the short run. This scenario suggests that lower secondary private schools will decrease in number in the short run up to 2005. It may also be deduced, however, that this situation will force private primary schools to expand their facilities to include lower secondary level education over the same period.

Chart 19 Feasibility of Lower-secondary e (1:1000 Persons)

Lower-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	3,516	3,512	3,502	3,485	3,468	3,445	3,420	3,389	3,356	3,322	3,286	3,258	3,245	3,242	3,238	3,232	3,221
Enrolled school population	1,398	1,568	1,773	1,991	2,200	2,363	2,503	2,626	2,709	2,722	2,686	2,697	2,790	2,918	3,028	3,095	3,130
	2,118	1,944	1,729	1,494	1,268	1,082	917	763	647	600	600	561	455	324	210	137	91

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 11-14, p7-8



Upper-secondary level

It seems there has been no move to support the twelve-year basic education programme in formal upper-secondary and vocational levels. This is because the Seventh National Social and Economic Development Plan, 1992 -1996, only mentioned lower secondary education as an area of the basic education to be expanded (NESDB, 1992); however, this was not fully put into operation between 1992 and 1996. Additionally, it did not foresee twelve years as the basic education timespan. Twelve years' basic education, with the state taking responsibility for providing it to the entire school age population, only became an official policy when it stated in the new constitution adopted in October 1997; however it did not state that post primary education is compulsory (Thailand, 1997).

> To date in 1997, lower secondary education provision has still not been made fully operational, nor have upper secondary or vocational education. Participant observation at the Department of General Education, and the Department of Vocational Education showed that they had not yet realised that the new basic education programme would cover the secondary level. There had been no progress made in preparing school facilities for both levels, nor any plans to support it (Author's research notes from participant observation, 1997).

The expansion of educational opportunity beyond the lower secondary level will affect educational provision at the upper secondary level. This arises out of a policy that has concentrated on strengthening the general stream of secondary level education, with the aim of producing more qualified students in science, engineering and medicine. As a result, the transition rate from lower to upper-secondary level increased from 74.9% in 1987 to 89.9% in 1994; regarding the projection on Chart 20, this was equivalent to 733,900 students.

However, when compared to the total upper secondary school age population of 15-17 year-olds, (see Chart 20 next page) the new entrants at this level in 1997 represented around 50% of that whole age group. Non-enrolled numbers were as high as 914,350. The projection indicates that the upper secondary level, in terms of school facilities, will be feasible after 2005 if the state continues to increase its capacity at this rate.

The capacity is based on the projection in Chart 20 and includes private schooling. The number of private lower secondary school students will not follow the same pattern as the state one. This is because between 1989 and 1997 the state has abruptly increased its capacity, resulting in fewer enrolments left for private schools. The private schools are not willing to compete with the state at this level. Between 1989 and 1997 the number of lower secondary students in private schools has increased from 157,000 to 163,000, but in public schools the number has more than doubled, from 1,241,000 to 2,546,000.

According to Chart 20 in 1999 the upper secondary school age population, as projected is 1,848,000, however, the majority schools can support is only 1,182,000 students. There are 666,000 non-enrolled students. The capacity to requirement for upper school age population works out at 63.96%. In other words, the capacity equals two thirds of the demand. This suggests that more places are needed. However the project indicates that the capacity to supply the entire upper secondary school age population will be made possible in the short run. It is a necessity for the government to stress that everyone at this level must attend the basic education programme.

Chart 20 Feasibility of Upper-secondary e (1:1000 Persons)

Upper-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	1,952	1,867	1,841	1,864	1,893	1,948	1,964	1,947	1,924	1,888	1,848	1,839	1,753	1,725	1,710	1,704	1,700
Enrolled school population	467	469	496	561	639	734	830	925	1,010	1,095	1,182	1,240	1,320	1,400	1,484	1,575	1,680
	1,485	1,399	1,344	1,304	1,254	1,214	1,134	1,022	914	793	666	599	433	325	226	129	20

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 15-18, p 9-12

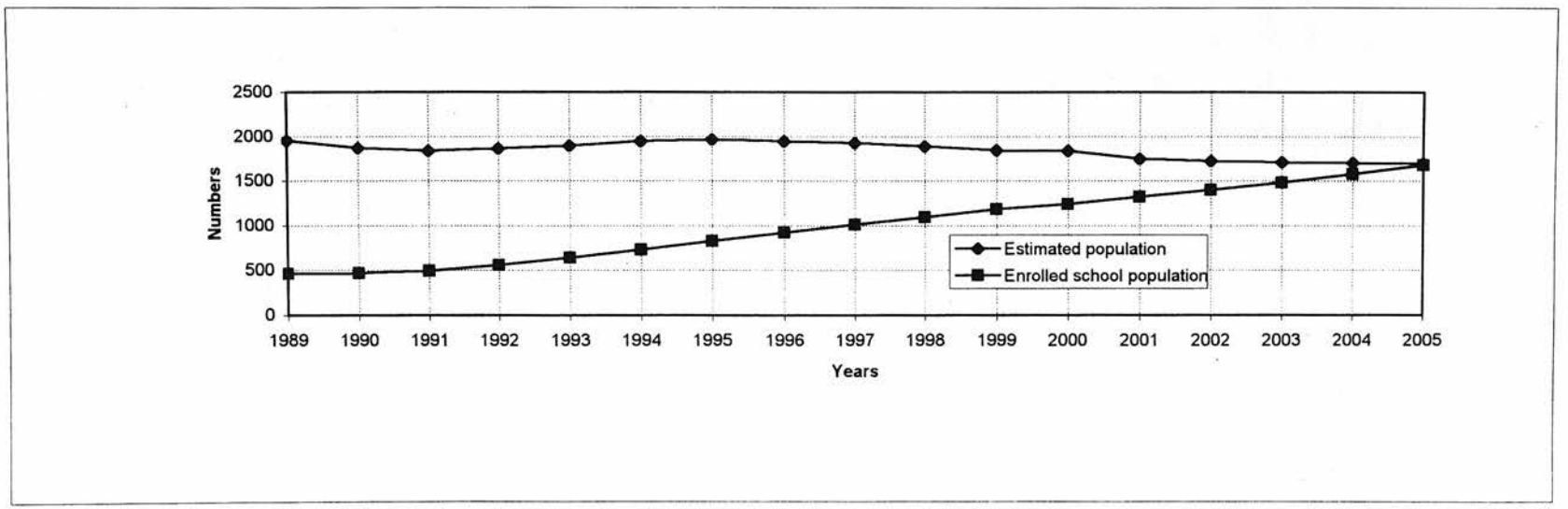
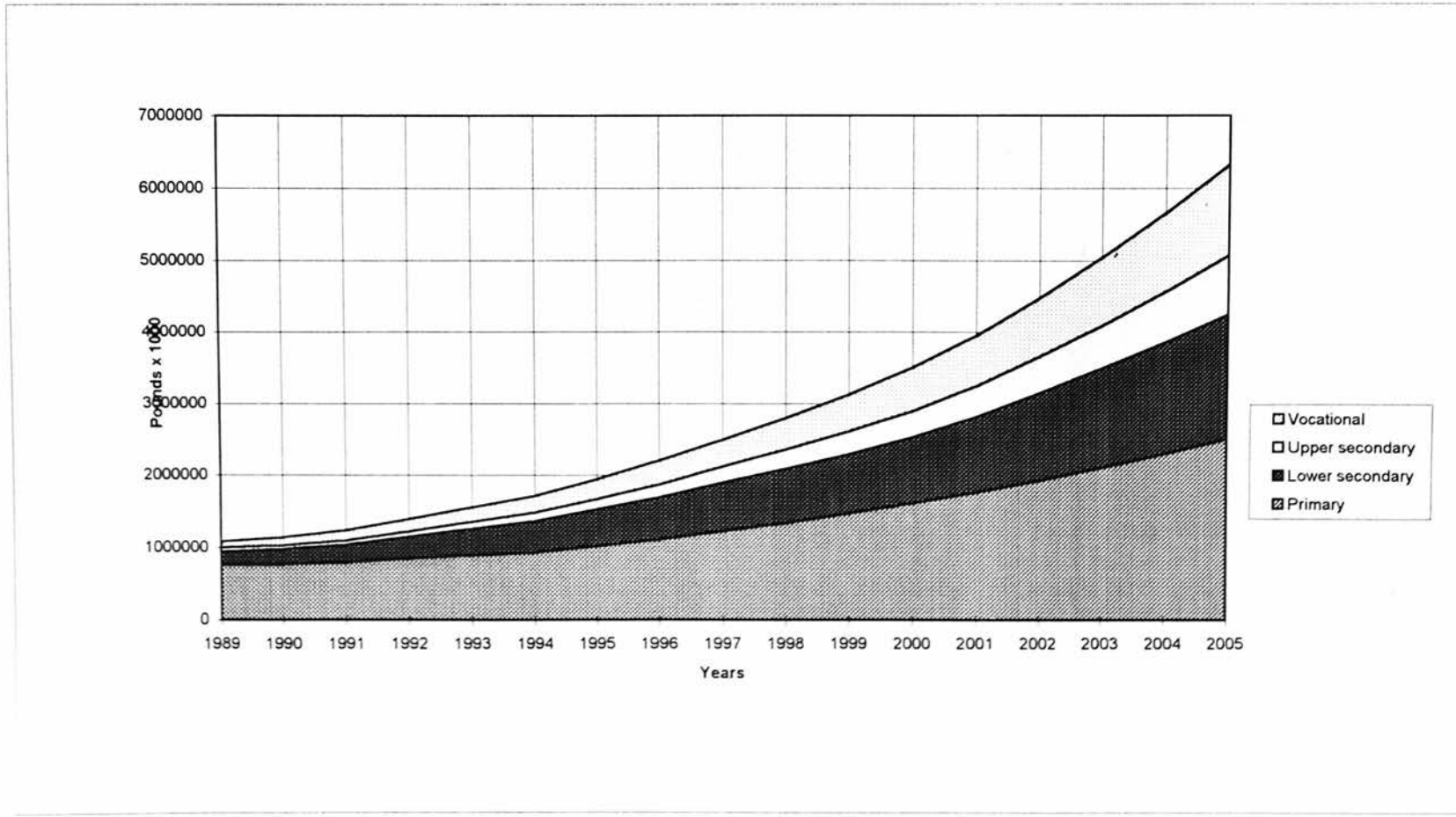


Chart 17 (continue) Finanical capacity of education provision of each level
Exchange rate £1 = 50 baht



In summary it can be seen that the relationship between the requirement and the capacity in normal and abnormal times is going to follow this pattern. This is due to the entire school age population being specified as a variable for calculation in terms of places and finance requirements. This cannot be affected by economic crisis. The Thai public and private schooling will serve the school age population with the 12-year basic education programme.

One the other hand, concerning the capacity, the number of school students is specified as a variable for calculation in terms of places and finance capacity for 12-year basic education. This represents the ability for providing schooling. It includes both public and private schools.

Although in real situation the crisis may affect the amount of school enrolment in the future, the capacity to support these students is still there. The capacity in this calculation cannot be affected by the crisis. This calculation aims to measure the ability to expand schooling for the 12-year basic education and is based on the retention rate of the schools students.

As we see in this chapter, the Requirements and Capacity are the first two phases which are covered by the Contingency Approach. These are essential to identify the possibility for providing the 12-year basic education programme. In the Chapter 7, the gap between Requirement and Capacity will be seen in Feasibility of 12-year basic education programme.

Chapter 7: The Revised Contingency Approach Model to Analysis for the Basic Educational Reform Plan: Feasibility and Implementation of a Twelve-year Basic Educational Provision

This chapter illustrates the third and fourth phases of the Contingency Approach. It analyses the gap between the Requirements and Capacity for basic education and leads to a critical feasibility analysis which takes into account environmental aspects: the environmental uncertainty, the readiness of the population, the readiness of the public sector, the readiness of the private sector, the equality of access to schooling. It finally reaches the Implementation.

The "requirements", as already discussed, are defined as the school age population in the formal education system requiring places in schools. The term is used as an indicator because it is the target the government has to achieve for the basic twelve-year education programme if it is to provide educational opportunities for the whole school age population by the year 2001. "Capacity" is defined as the quantity of school facilities in formal education that are available to support the school age populations at each level each year. Private facilities are included in this capacity.

"Feasibility" can be understood as the outcome of a comparison between the "Requirement" and the "Capacity" phases. If the educational reform requirement is equal to the national capacity, supplying the educational provision will then be feasible. If not, the feasibility assessment indicates the gap between the educational requirement and the capacity.

Primary education

In Chart 18, the curve of the enrolled primary school population or school attenders shows a decline. This is due to the effect of a decreasing population growth rate and to the large number of deaths caused by AIDS, mentioned in the requirement phase in Chapter 6. According to the projection, between 1995 and 2005 the number of school age population and school attenders will decrease gradually. In Chart 18 in 1998 the requirement for primary schooling amounts to 5,860,000 whereas there is a greater capacity of 6,486,000. It can be concluded that the capacity at the primary education level, inclusive of private schools, is adequate for the future primary school age population based on the 1989 capacity of 6.9 million. For these reasons, primary education should be feasible in terms the school facilities already available.

Even though primary education is compulsory, enrolment is not fully effective. In 1994, there were 681,100 non-enrolled children (NEC, 1995b). These children mostly lived in fairly small remote villages; those who are needed to support their poor families are exempted by law from compulsory education. Among 7-14 year-olds there are about 100,000 disabled children of whom 65 % attend the state's special and welfare schools. Only 5 % of these children, who are able to learn alongside normal school pupils are educated in mainstream public and private schools (NEC, 1995b). The rest of non-enrolled children were homeless or street children, children whose nationalities were unidentified, children who worked, slum dwellers, hill-tribe villagers and people from different cultures.

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Chart 18 Feasibility of primary education (1:1000 Persons)

Primary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
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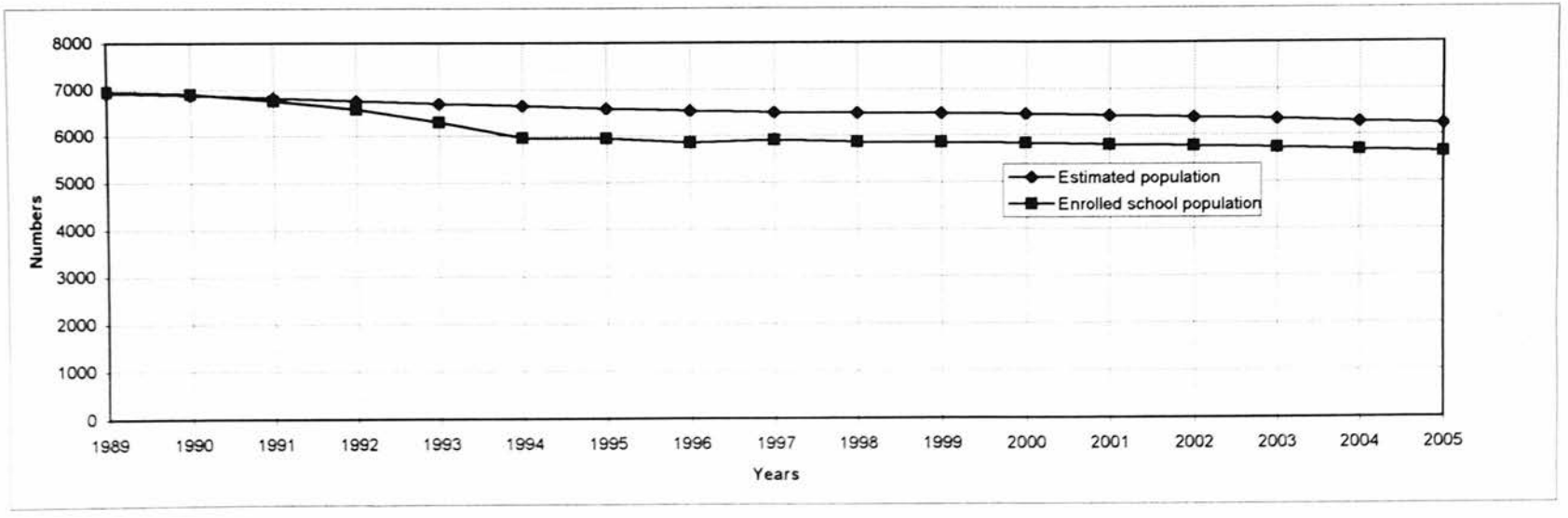


The projection on Chart 19 shows an increase in the capacity to support the higher demand for lower secondary education. Since 1987, voluntary lower secondary education has been provided free of charge in some public schools. This began with a pilot project in 38 state schools. In 1989 the ONPEC was instructed to operate free lower secondary education in its own 216 primary schools which had expanded their facilities. In 1992 state schools belonging to the municipalities were allowed to provide free lower secondary education (NEC, 1995b). Between 1987 and 1989 none of these was compulsory. Since then the government has started to undertake expansion of the length of basic education to nine years, by gradually enlarging the provision of school buildings in some state schools. However, between 1987 and 1998 lower secondary education, lasting 3 years beyond primary schooling, had still not been made compulsory.

The state has used this as a starting point with which to expand its capacity to support the higher demand in lower-secondary education. This is made possible by expanding the existing primary school facilities belonging to the ONPEC in the MOE and municipal schools belonging to the MOIA. State secondary schools belonging to Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education have continued their own operations and established more new secondary schools.

Chart 19 shows that the high demand for schooling resulted in a doubling of the total number of children enrolled in the lower secondary level from 1,397,800 in 1989 to 2,709,000 in 1997 and, according to the projection, enrolment will continue to rise at a moderate rate between 1999 and 2005. The strategies for encouraging more primary pupils in these primary schools to continue their studies are the recommendations from their own teachers. Pupils are pointed out the necessity of receiving higher education. This increase in the number of lower secondary students may be due to the fact that the state has introduced attractive measures to achieve the goal of increased educational opportunity, such as the waiving of tuition fees and provision of free textbooks. In addition according to Schiefelbien and Simmons (1981) availability of textbooks is associated with student achievement. It is found that in Thailand the use of text books benefits teachers and students of lower secondary level because it "enables teachers to make better use of classroom time, however, or that they encouraged the assignment or comprehension of homework" (Lockheed et al, 1986: 379).

However free, lower-secondary education is operated in schools of ONPEC in the MOE and of MOIA municipal primary schools which have expanded their facilities. The state secondary schools belonging to the General Education Department in the MOE are not free of charge. Between 1999 and 2005 there has, therefore, been a decrease in the number of non-enrolled children so that the actual proportion of lower school attenders to those school age population was increasing annually. Perhaps they or their parents realise how important education is, and how the government supports their studies.

From Chart 19, it can be concluded that between 1998 and 2001 the provision of facilities to meet the demand for lower secondary level education will not be met, thus making the plan for 12 years of basic education infeasible. This is because although the gap between the two projected curves becomes smaller, they do not meet during this period. It is a

likelihood, according to this projection, that the twelve-year basic education scheme will have to be postponed until lower secondary education is made feasible, which is expected to be after the year 2005.

In 1984 the average ratio was one state secondary school for every three districts in a province; in 1994 the ratio was improved to one state school for every district (NEC, 1995b). However, the author's experience shows that, owing to the high numbers of children in some districts, the state has allowed the public schools to enrol more children in lower secondary level classes than the standard. [The standard limit of children per class is 40.] Due to the higher enrolment, the state required the primary schools under the control of The Office of the Primary Education Commission, the municipalities, and Pataya City and Bangkok Metropolitan Administration to extend facilities for providing lower secondary education. Between 1992 and 1996, 2,186 state secondary schools under the Department of General Education and 4,322 primary schools of the ONPEC were expanded to support lower-secondary education (NEC, 1995b: 13).

The state expansion of lower-secondary schooling was designed to provide more classrooms for new entrants. Children were also given the opportunity to attend the state school closest to their homes. However, since some schools lack space for enlargement, the expansion of buildings cannot be made available to every state primary school. Although at face value these figures seem impressive, it was found that in 1994 there were no state secondary schools in about 200 residential areas in six provinces: Krabi, Karnchanaburi, Burirum, Srakaew, Ubolrajthani, and Narathiwas (NEC, 1996). This gave rise to the inconvenience of having to travel long distances between home and school, which obstructed enrolling.

In view of all this, it may be argued that, in its attempt to unlock the doors of learning opportunity countrywide, the government needs to enact supporting measures, such as providing more school facilities, expanding educational services, improving teaching-

learning methods and aiding management; otherwise children from the outlying localities of various provinces will have to leave school and miss the opportunity to continue their studies.

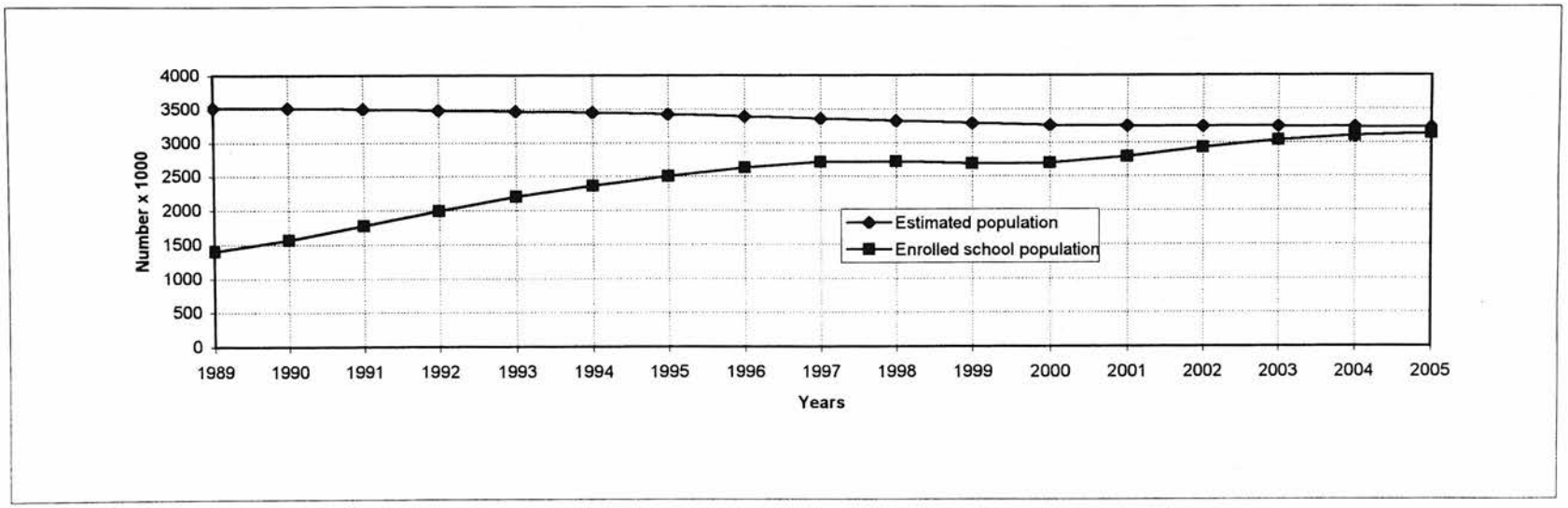
With respect to educational equality at the lower secondary level, the evidence suggests that the transition rate from primary to lower secondary level improves according to area of residence and family income. For instance, in the Bangkok Metropolitan area, the transition percentage of primary pupils to lower secondary level was 96 % in 1987, increasing to 100% in 1994 (NEC, 1995b). By contrast, in the less affluent southern region, the transition percentage to lower secondary level was 44% in 1987, increasing to 75% in 1994; and in the Northeast region, the transition percentage was 25 % in 1987, increasing to 78% in 1994 (NEC, 1995b). This shows that the income disparities between rural and urban areas remain a significant problem affecting children's continuation from primary to lower secondary.

In short, given that the number of students is increasing each year, although the school age population is decreasing, where the capacity for lower secondary level provision is increasing according to the projection in Chart 19, the state will be able to provide the more limited nine-year basic education programme with private participation for the whole school age population in the near future. However, depending on its policy, if the state aims to provide it solely without private participation it could be possible to do so in the short run. This scenario suggests that lower secondary private schools will decrease in number in the short run up to 2005. It may also be deduced, however, that this situation will force private primary schools to expand their facilities to include lower secondary level education over the same period.

Chart 19 Feasibility of Lower-secondary e (1:1000 Persons)

Lower-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	3,516	3,512	3,502	3,485	3,468	3,445	3,420	3,389	3,356	3,322	3,286	3,258	3,245	3,242	3,238	3,232	3,221
Enrolled school population	1,398	1,568	1,773	1,991	2,200	2,363	2,503	2,626	2,709	2,722	2,686	2,697	2,790	2,918	3,028	3,095	3,130
	2,118	1,944	1,729	1,494	1,268	1,082	917	763	647	600	600	561	455	324	210	137	91

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 11-14, p7-8



Upper-secondary level

It seems there has been no move to support the twelve-year basic education programme in formal upper-secondary and vocational levels. This is because the Seventh National Social and Economic Development Plan, 1992 -1996, only mentioned lower secondary education as an area of the basic education to be expanded (NESDB, 1992); however, this was not fully put into operation between 1992 and 1996. Additionally, it did not foresee twelve years as the basic education timespan. Twelve years' basic education, with the state taking responsibility for providing it to the entire school age population, only became an official policy when it stated in the new constitution adopted in October 1997; however it did not state that post primary education is compulsory (Thailand, 1997).

> To date in 1997, lower secondary education provision has still not been made fully operational, nor have upper secondary or vocational education. Participant observation at the Department of General Education, and the Department of Vocational Education showed that they had not yet realised that the new basic education programme would cover the secondary level. There had been no progress made in preparing school facilities for both levels, nor any plans to support it (Author's research notes from participant observation, 1997).

The expansion of educational opportunity beyond the lower secondary level will affect educational provision at the upper secondary level. This arises out of a policy that has concentrated on strengthening the general stream of secondary level education, with the aim of producing more qualified students in science, engineering and medicine. As a result, the transition rate from lower to upper-secondary level increased from 74.9% in 1987 to 89.9% in 1994; regarding the projection on Chart 20, this was equivalent to 733,900 students.

However, when compared to the total upper secondary school age population of 15-17 year-olds, (see Chart 20 next page) the new entrants at this level in 1997 represented around 50% of that whole age group. Non-enrolled numbers were as high as 914,350. The projection indicates that the upper secondary level, in terms of school facilities, will be feasible after 2005 if the state continues to increase its capacity at this rate.

The capacity is based on the projection in Chart 20 and includes private schooling. The number of private lower secondary school students will not follow the same pattern as the state one. This is because between 1989 and 1997 the state has abruptly increased its capacity, resulting in fewer enrolments left for private schools. The private schools are not willing to compete with the state at this level. Between 1989 and 1997 the number of lower secondary students in private schools has increased from 157,000 to 163,000, but in public schools the number has more than doubled, from 1,241,000 to 2,546,000.

According to Chart 20 in 1999 the upper secondary school age population, as projected is 1,848,000, however, the majority schools can support is only 1,182,000 students. There are 666,000 non-enrolled students. The capacity to requirement for upper school age population works out at 63.96%. In other words, the capacity equals two thirds of the demand. This suggests that more places are needed. However the project indicates that the capacity to supply the entire upper secondary school age population will be made possible in the short run. It is a necessity for the government to stress that everyone at this level must attend the basic education programme.

Chart 20 Feasibility of Upper-secondary e (1:1000 Persons)

Upper-secondary	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	1,952	1,867	1,841	1,864	1,893	1,948	1,964	1,947	1,924	1,888	1,848	1,839	1,753	1,725	1,710	1,704	1,700
Enrolled school population	467	469	496	561	639	734	830	925	1,010	1,095	1,182	1,240	1,320	1,400	1,484	1,575	1,680
	1,485	1,399	1,344	1,304	1,254	1,214	1,134	1,022	914	793	666	599	433	325	226	129	20

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 15-18, p 9-12

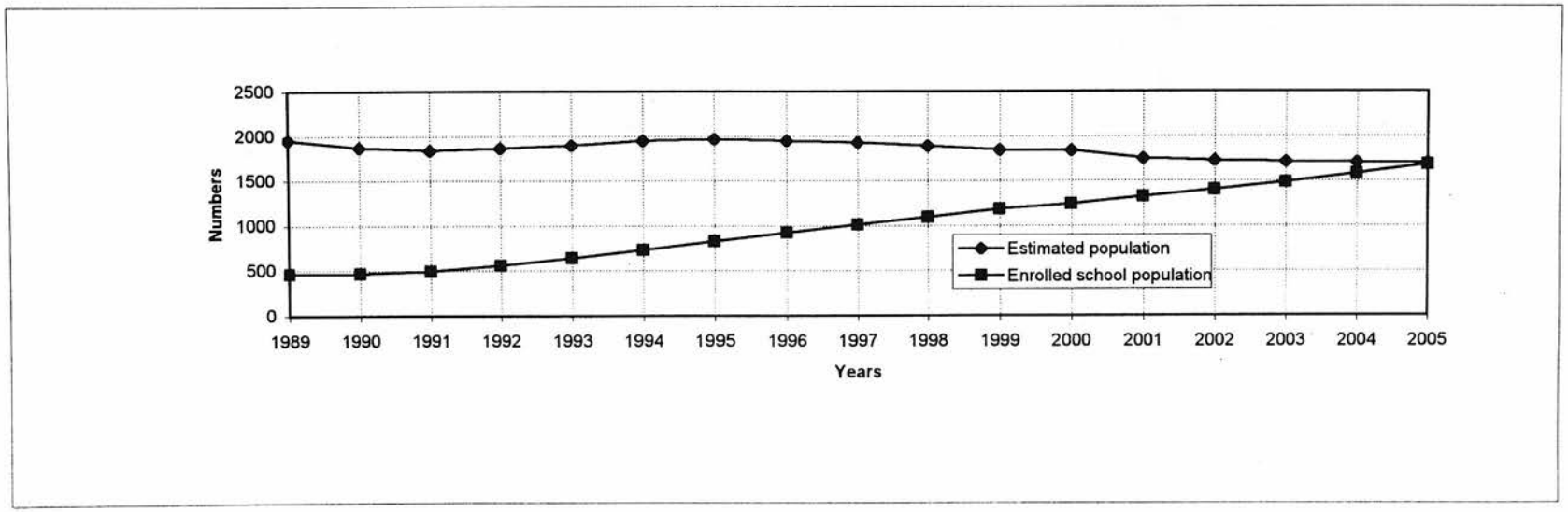


Chart 21 shows a big gap in vocational education feasibility. The projection indicates that even if the public and the private sectors maintain an increasing rate of capacity, vocational education may not be feasible since there will be an inadequate number places to support vocational students. From the projection in Chart 21, it can be seen that there has been an increased intake from 365,900 in 1989 to 689,000 in 1997. If the state intends to be the sole provider of vocational education, the result will be an infeasibility, unless the government sets aside an allocation of the budget for the expansion of vocational schools, technical schools and professional vocational schools.

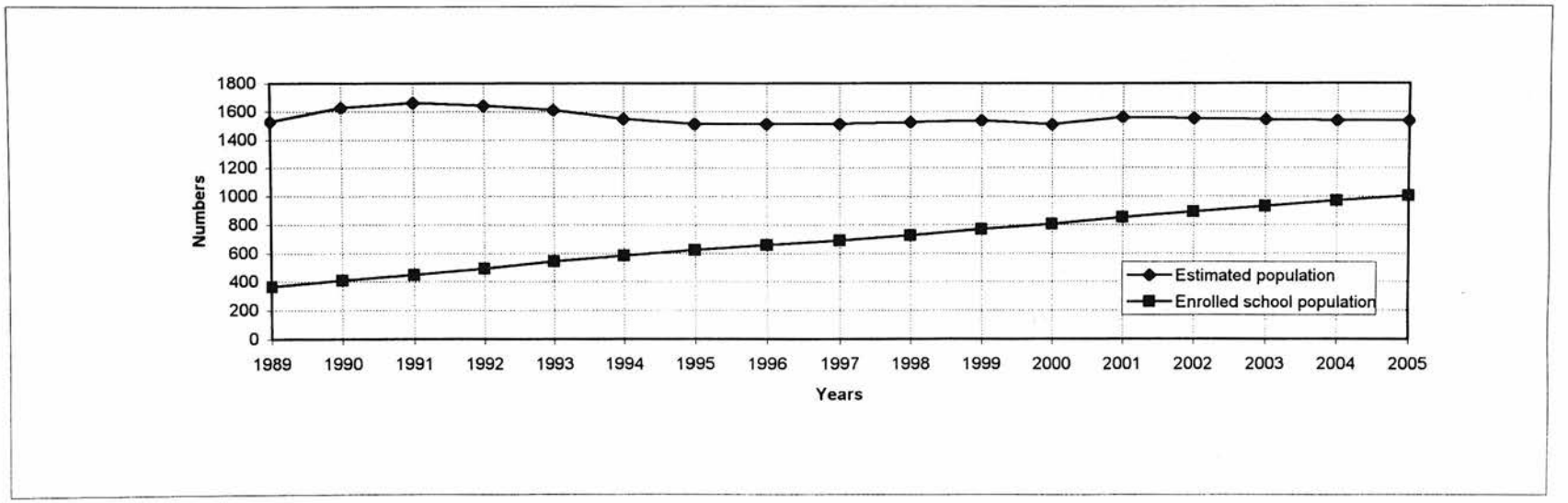
Currently, since the Board of Industrial Investment took responsibility for the country's economy, many projects and factories in Bangkok and surrounding urban areas have been developed. In 1996, the rate of expansion in the agricultural sector was increasing slowly at a slow annual rate of 3%, while in the industrial sector it was increasing at 7.5 %; in the construction sector it was 6% while other areas were expanding at 6.5% (NESDB, 1997). The economic crisis in 1997 may reduce the demand for workers in industrial and agricultural sectors. However, the need for a more highly educated workforce is growing; for example, the textile weaving industry, which formerly engaged workers with primary school qualifications, has begun to engage workers who have been educated beyond the primary level (NEC, 1993). This suggests that the present workers with only primary or lower secondary backgrounds need to upgrade their qualifications. This may be done through non-formal education or on the job short-term training in some specifically required skills. This suggests that in the short run the industrial sector will demand new workers with a vocational education.

According to Chart 21 in 1999 the projected vocational school age population is 1,534,000, whereas the capacity of schooling can only support 767,000 students. There are 767,000 non-enrolled students. This means that the proportion of capacity to requirement for upper school age population works out at 50:50%. In other words, the capacity only amounts to half of what is needed. This presents problems for the government and suggests more places are needed. The project indicates that the vocational education provision is infeasible because the capacity needed to supply the entire school age population is far smaller than the requirement.

Chart 21 Feasibility of Vacational education (1:1000 Persons)

Vocational education	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estimated population	1,529	1,627	1,660	1,642	1,610	1,546	1,514	1,512	1,514	1,525	1,534	1,509	1,559	1,553	1,543	1,535	1,534
Enrolled school population	366	408	448	494	544	583	621	656	689	726	767	805	852	890	930	969	1,005
	1,163	1,219	1,212	1,148	1,066	964	893	856	825	799	767	704	707	663	613	566	529

Source: Division of Educational System Development and Macro Planning, Unpublished data, NEC, Chart 15-18, p 9-12



Financial feasibility

In the following projections the feasibility of the 12-year basic education programme in terms of finance is presented. The requirement curves represent the amount of budget allocation required by the entire school age population, and the capacity curves represent the amount of budget allocation that is required to provide for all school attenders in each particular year.

The results of all of the following projections according to Charts 22-26 suggest that there are gaps between the two curves at each level. The upper curves are projections based on the whole school age population whereas the lower curves are projections based on school attenders, representing the actual capacity of educational provision.

In chart 22 the financial capacity for primary schools seems insufficient for the requirements. This could be due to that the absenteeism in compulsory primary education in each year results in less educational budgetary allocation for this level, which creates the gap between requirement and capacity. The requirement still presents the need of a financial boost for schooling for the entire school age population. However, due to fewer school attenders, the financial subsidising is less when compared against the whole population.

Chart 22 Feasibility of primary education provision, 1989-2005

Feasibility	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Requirement x 1000	£ 754,785.24	£ 762,273.36	£ 799,429.07	£ 871,884.67	£ 951,121.09	£ 1,037,173.55	£ 1,130,409.83	£ 1,234,378.67
Capacity x 1000	£ 757,575.90	£ 765,222.24	£ 792,528.54	£ 848,622.36	£ 892,858.18	£ 930,785.16	£ 1,020,339.56	£ 1,105,402.89
Feasibility x 1000	-£ 2,790.66	-£ 2,948.88	£ 6,900.53	£ 23,262.31	£ 58,262.91	£ 106,388.39	£ 110,070.27	£ 128,975.78

Feasibility	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Requirement x 1000	£ 1,352,203.15	£ 1,483,306.97	£ 1,627,612.66	£ 1,784,839.54	£ 1,951,452.24	£ 2,133,873.91	£ 2,333,633.71	£ 2,546,334.69
Capacity x 1000	£ 1,226,686.67	£ 1,340,096.04	£ 1,470,388.37	£ 1,610,700.39	£ 1,760,981.79	£ 1,928,535.33	£ 2,107,483.70	£ 2,299,388.45
Feasibility x 1000	£ 125,516.47	£ 143,210.94	£ 157,224.29	£ 174,139.15	£ 190,470.45	£ 205,338.58	£ 226,150.00	£ 246,946.24

Feasibility	2005
Requirement x 1000	£ 2,778,685.20
Capacity x 1000	£ 2,508,992.53
Feasibility x 1000	£ 269,692.67

Chart 22 (continue) Feasibility of primary education provision, 1989-2005

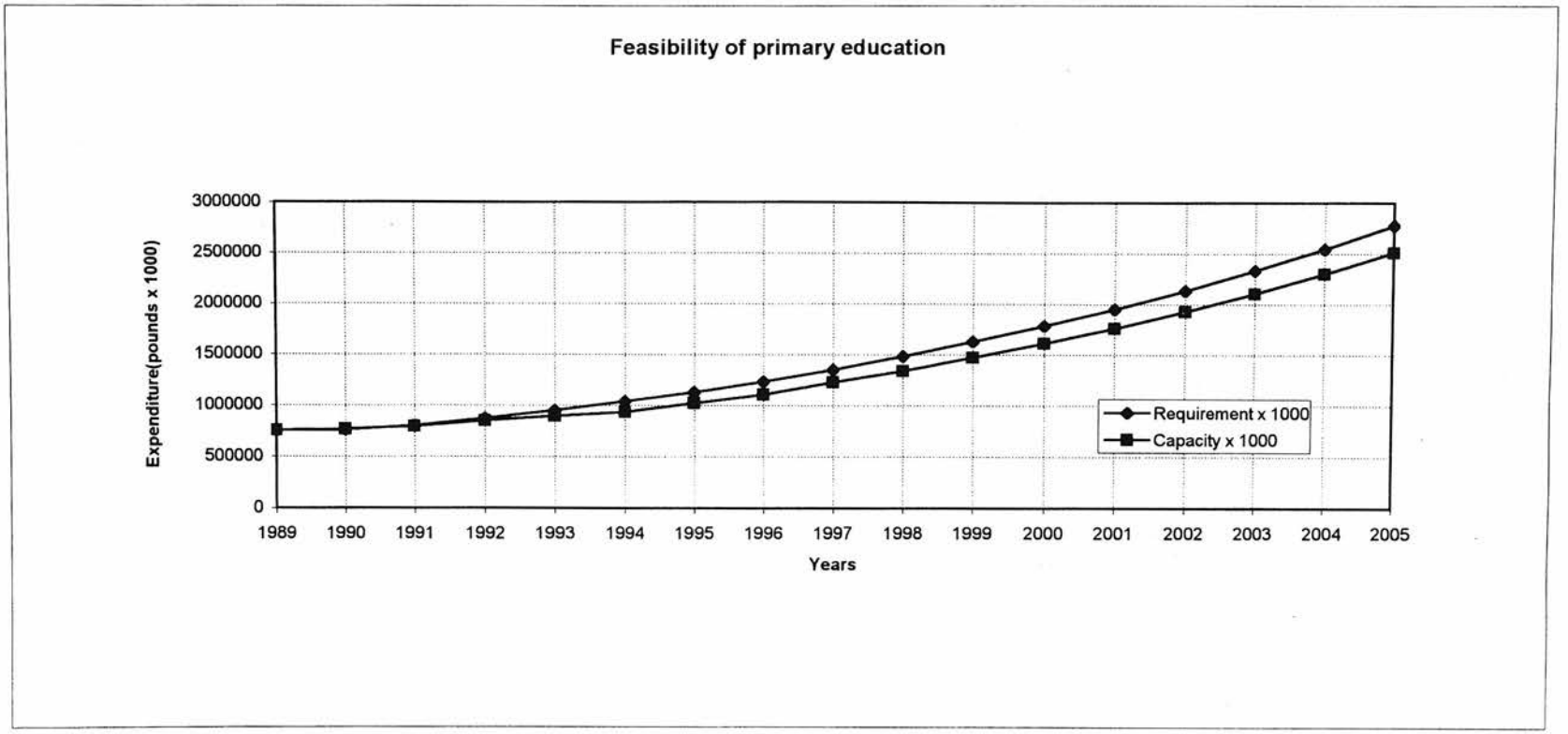


Chart 23 shows feasibility of lower secondary education between 1989 and 2005. Through out this period there are gaps between the requirements and capacity of this level. This is because lower secondary provision does not cover the entire school age population. As mentioned earlier, in 1989 the government had just started expanding their school facilities and encouraged more primary pupils to continue their studies within the same schools. Also there has been higher demands in this level due to the demand for higher education. This has raised the enrolment in this level and resulted in increasing in financial support from 1989 to 2005. The curves of the financial capacity have been raised by these factors.

However, until in 1998, lower secondary education had not been compulsory. It can be called voluntary lower secondary education. Although the government has tried to increase schooling, the higher demand in each year makes it financially infeasible to provide universal lower-secondary education, as targeted, by 2001. There is a possibility of doing so after the year 2005, as shown in Chart 23 next page.

Feasibility

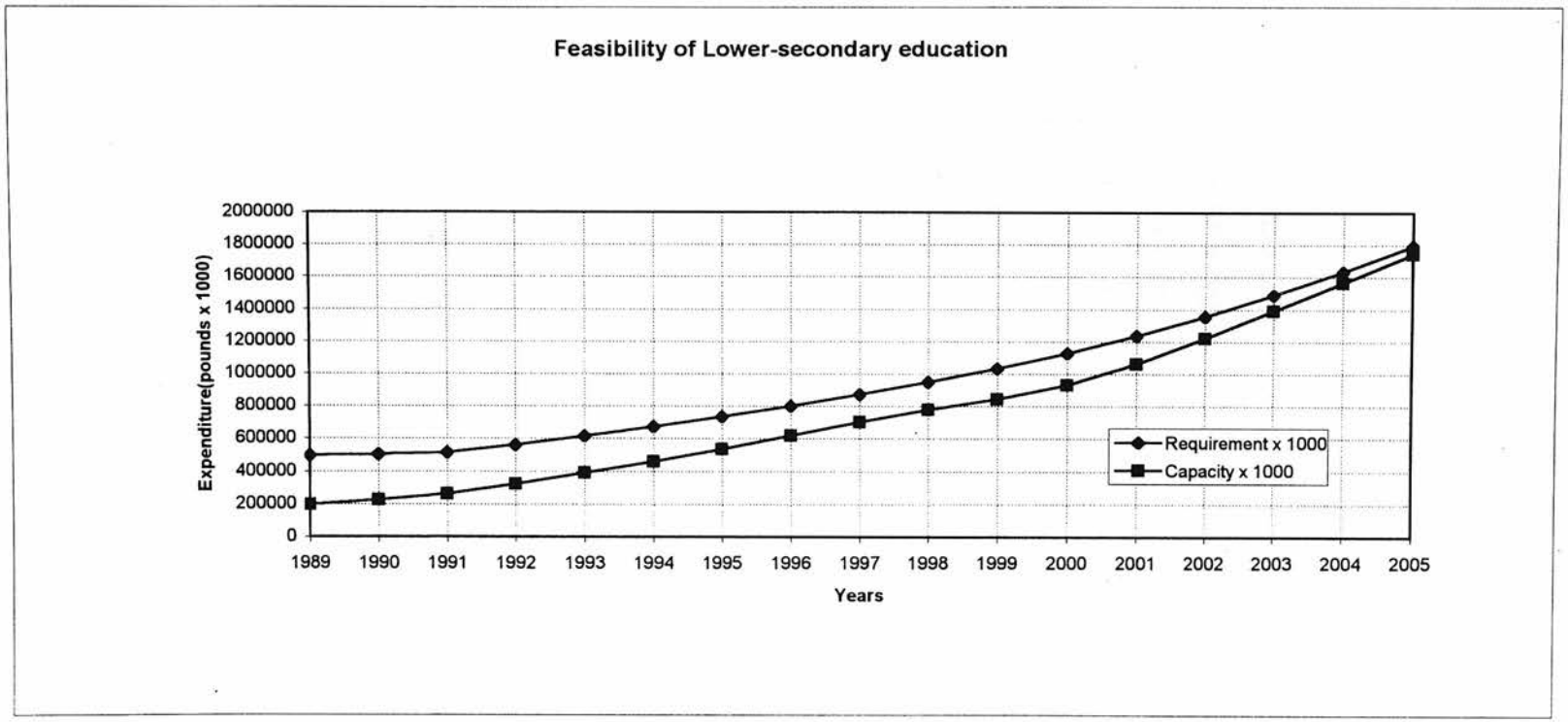
Chart 23 Feasibility of Lower secondary provision, 1989-2005

Feasibility	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Requirement x 1000	£ 494,884.03	£ 503,367.94	£ 513,316.16	£ 561,906.76	£ 615,082.33	£ 672,103.37	£ 733,948.59	£ 800,025.42
Capacity x 1000	£ 196,743.15	£ 224,680.97	£ 259,926.77	£ 320,955.98	£ 390,226.11	£ 461,010.24	£ 537,155.94	£ 619,907.57
Feasibility x 1000	£ 298,140.89	£ 278,686.96	£ 253,389.39	£ 240,950.78	£ 224,856.22	£ 211,093.13	£ 196,792.65	£ 180,117.85

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Requirement x 1000	£ 871,458.79	£ 948,892.94	£ 1,032,470.93	£ 1,126,040.57	£ 1,233,702.21	£ 1,355,817.82	£ 1,489,559.51	£ 1,635,479.30
Capacity x 1000	£ 703,451.09	£ 777,509.51	£ 843,949.15	£ 932,145.92	£ 1,060,717.77	£ 1,220,319.68	£ 1,392,954.35	£ 1,566,153.60
Feasibility x 1000	£ 168,007.70	£ 171,383.43	£ 188,521.78	£ 193,894.65	£ 172,984.44	£ 135,498.14	£ 96,605.16	£ 69,325.70

Requirement x 1000	2005
Capacity x 1000	£ 1,792,904.30
Feasibility x 1000	£ 1,742,251.00
Feasibility x 1000	£ 50,653.30

Chart 23 (continue) Feasibility of lower secondary provision, 1989-2005



In Charts 24, 25 and 26 on the following pages, the financial feasibility of upper secondary, vocational education and secondary education is presented.

It can be seen that educational budgetary allocation for both levels tends to increase throughout the period of 1989 to 2005. This is also because of the capacity for providing upper secondary and vocational schooling is smaller than the requirement. Another reason is that the Constitution of 1997 was adopted in October. It states that basic education includes both levels. Secondary education has not been made compulsory; consequently, through out this period gaps between the requirements and capacity will continue. In addition, the government does not provide full financial support. All students in these levels have to pay tuition fees; consequently, the capacity curve seems to be a bit lower than it should. According to the projection in Charts 24, 25 and 26 the suggestion is that financial feasibility in both levels cannot be made possible by 2001.

Feasibility

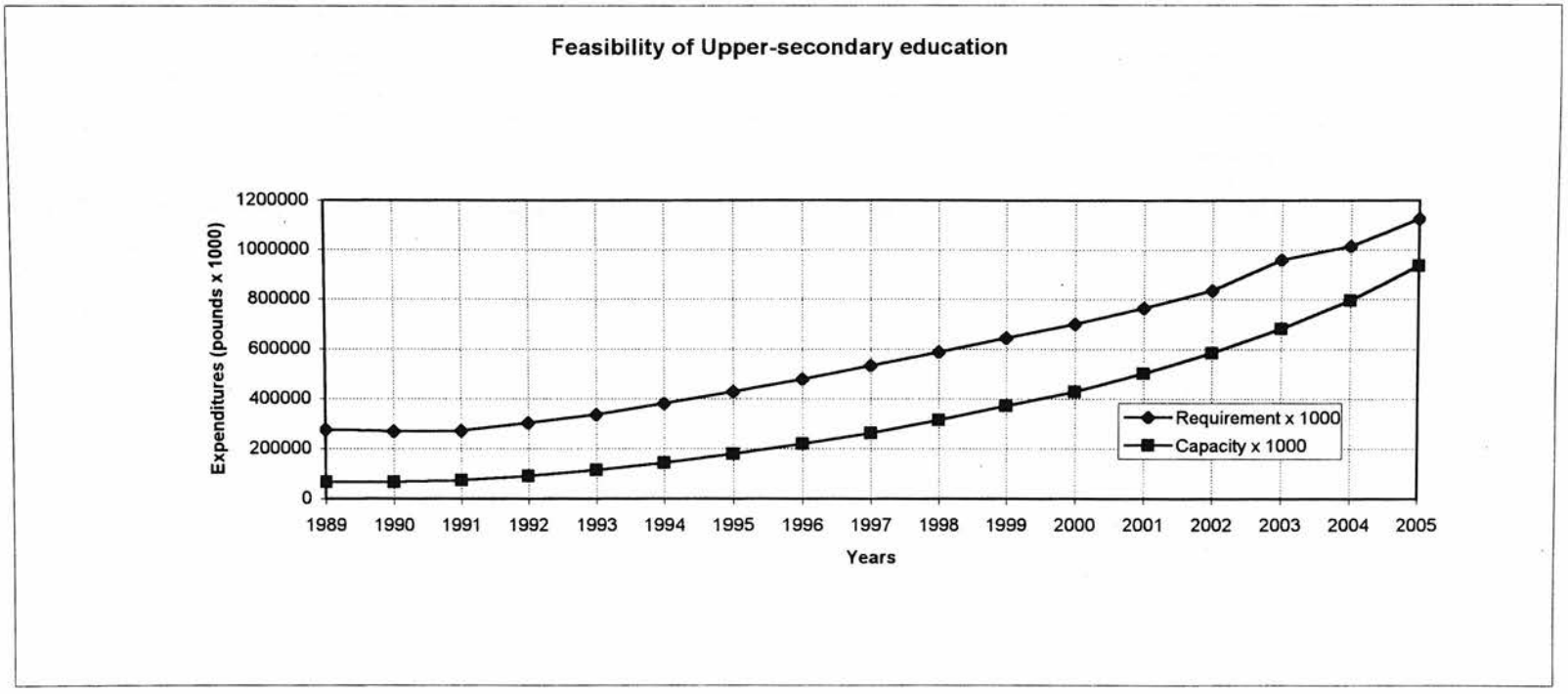
Chart 24 Feasibility of Upper secondary provision, 1989-2005

Feasibility	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Requirement x 1000	£ 274,866.28	£ 267,921.60	£ 269,927.20	£ 300,735.72	£ 335,496.55	£ 379,958.98	£ 426,938.32	£ 477,681.75
Capacity x 1000	£ 65,745.26	£ 67,149.17	£ 72,761.32	£ 90,388.79	£ 113,403.59	£ 143,180.45	£ 178,122.03	£ 218,360.43
Feasibility x 1000	£ 209,121.02	£ 200,772.43	£ 197,165.88	£ 210,346.93	£ 222,092.96	£ 236,778.53	£ 248,816.30	£ 259,321.31

Feasibility	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Requirement x 1000	£ 531,187.37	£ 585,906.54	£ 645,019.09	£ 701,230.88	£ 765,578.19	£ 837,603.51	£ 960,727.24	£ 1,014,554.30
Capacity x 1000	£ 262,268.59	£ 312,774.77	£ 371,387.90	£ 428,572.84	£ 501,844.97	£ 585,485.80	£ 682,676.44	£ 796,992.54
Feasibility x 1000	£ 268,918.78	£ 273,131.78	£ 273,631.19	£ 272,658.04	£ 263,733.22	£ 252,117.71	£ 278,050.80	£ 217,561.76

Feasibility	2005
Requirement x 1000	£ 1,126,887.94
Capacity x 1000	£ 935,137.91
Feasibility x 1000	£ 191,750.03

Chart 24 (continue) Feasibility of uppersecondary education provision, 1989-2005



Feasibility

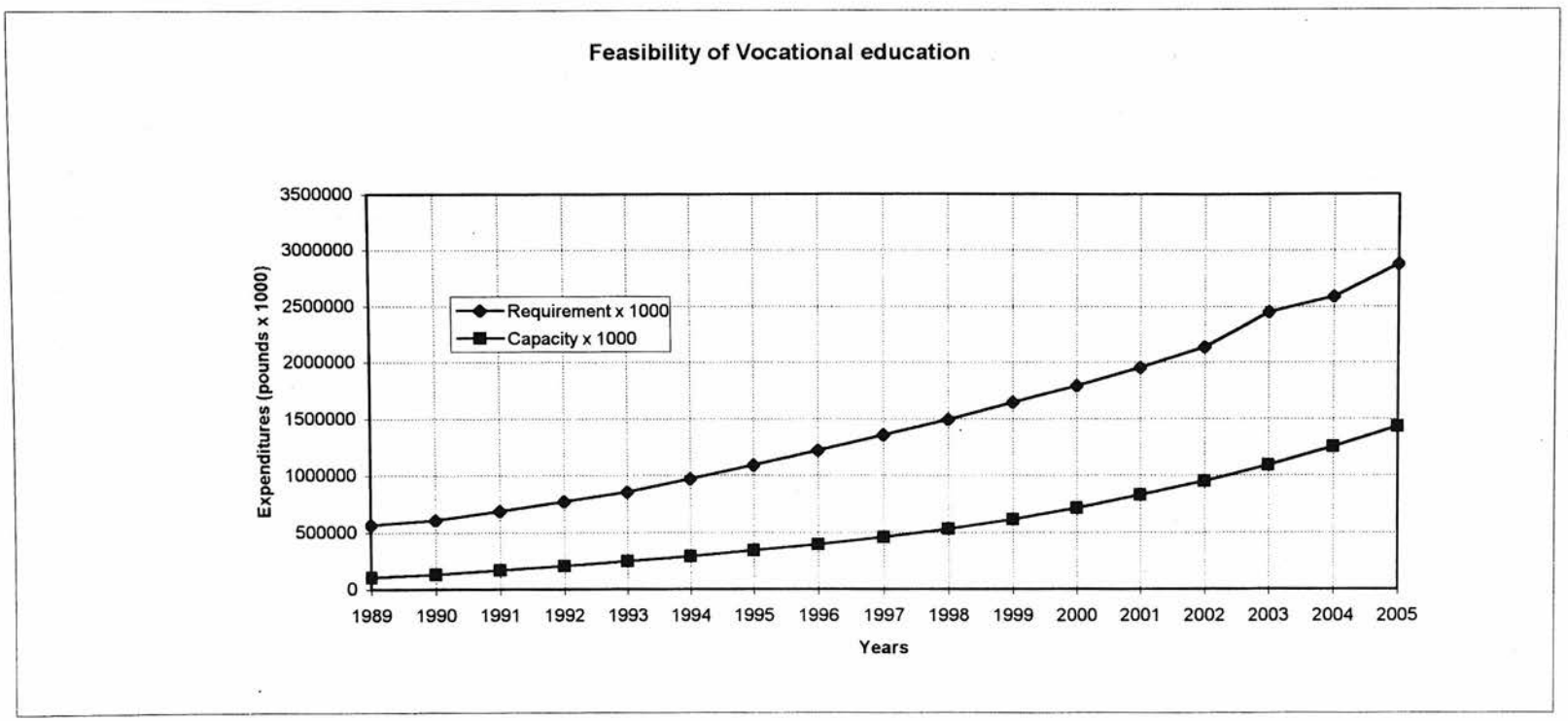
Chart 25 Feasibility of vocational provision, 1989-2005

Feasibility	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Requirement x 1000	£ 563,953.14	£ 605,590.14	£ 688,966.44	£ 767,602.61	£ 856,326.69	£ 969,813.29	£ 1,089,724.11	£ 1,219,242.43
Capacity x 1000	£ 105,666.80	£ 132,178.94	£ 167,534.52	£ 203,095.38	£ 246,130.21	£ 290,163.84	£ 340,159.46	£ 395,264.20
Feasibility x 1000	£ 458,286.34	£ 473,411.20	£ 521,431.92	£ 564,507.22	£ 610,196.48	£ 679,649.46	£ 749,564.65	£ 823,978.23

Feasibility	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Requirement x 1000	£ 1,355,811.03	£ 1,495,477.11	£ 1,646,356.90	£ 1,789,832.76	£ 1,954,073.84	£ 2,137,912.41	£ 2,452,175.37	£ 2,589,564.40
Capacity x 1000	£ 456,662.71	£ 529,304.55	£ 615,116.05	£ 710,150.27	£ 826,773.71	£ 950,013.45	£ 1,091,981.76	£ 1,251,551.99
Feasibility x 1000	£ 899,148.32	£ 966,172.55	£ 1,031,240.85	£ 1,079,682.48	£ 1,127,300.13	£ 1,187,898.96	£ 1,360,193.61	£ 1,338,012.41

Feasibility	2005
Requirement x 1000	£ 2,876,286.57
Capacity x 1000	£ 1,427,854.21
Feasibility x 1000	£ 1,448,432.36

Chart 25 (continue) Feasibility of vocational provision, 1989-2005



Feasibility

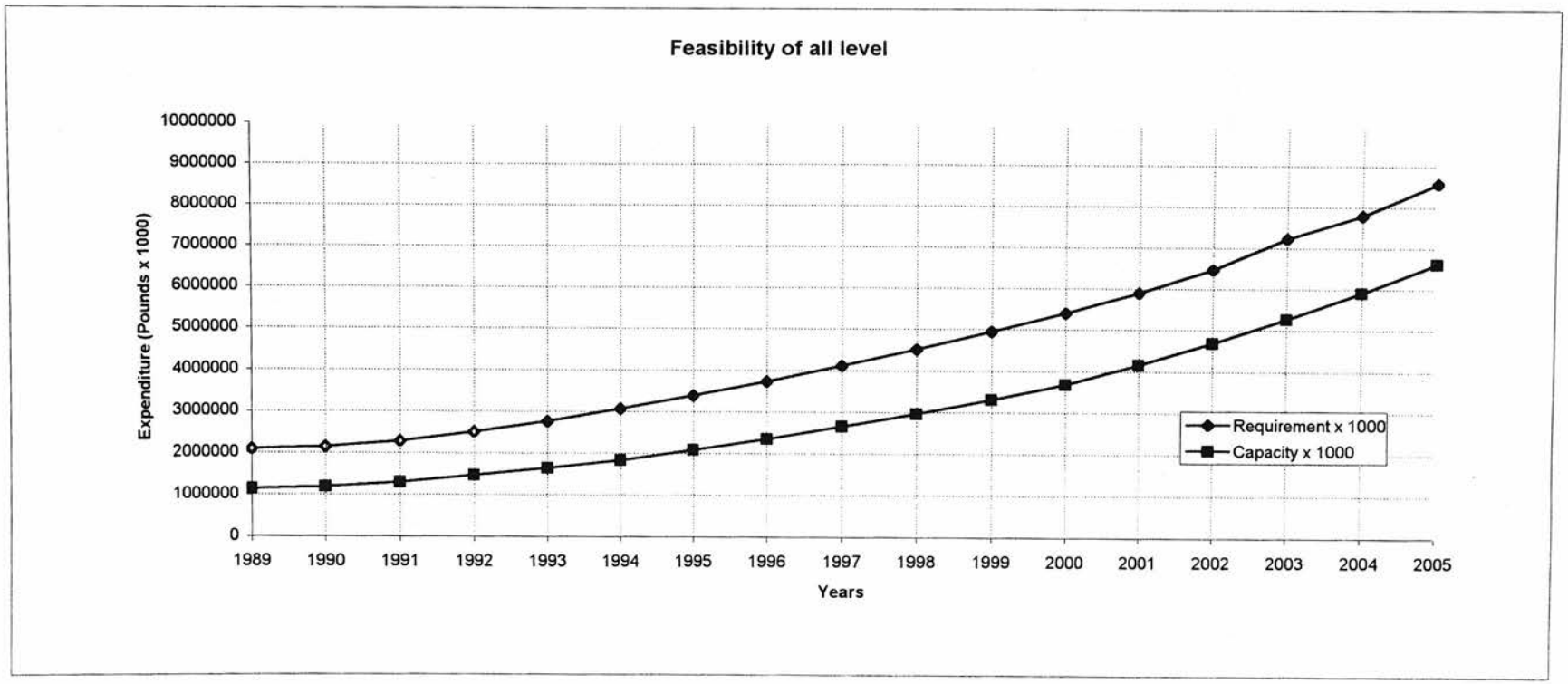
Chart 26 Feasibility of school provision of all level, 1989-2005

Feasibility all level	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Requirement x 1000	£ 2,088,488.69	£ 2,139,153.04	£ 2,271,638.87	£ 2,502,129.76	£ 2,758,026.66	£ 3,059,049.19	£ 3,381,020.85
Capacity x 1000	£ 1,125,731.10	£ 1,189,231.32	£ 1,292,751.14	£ 1,463,062.52	£ 1,642,618.08	£ 1,825,139.69	£ 2,075,776.99
Feasibility x 1000	£ 962,757.59	£ 949,921.72	£ 978,887.72	£ 1,039,067.24	£ 1,115,408.58	£ 1,233,909.50	£ 1,305,243.86

Feasibility all level	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Requirement x 1000	£ 3,731,328.26	£ 4,110,660.33	£ 4,513,583.56	£ 4,951,459.58	£ 5,401,943.75	£ 5,904,806.48	£ 6,465,207.65
Capacity x 1000	£ 2,338,935.09	£ 2,649,069.06	£ 2,959,684.86	£ 3,300,841.47	£ 3,681,569.43	£ 4,150,318.25	£ 4,684,354.26
Feasibility x 1000	£ 1,392,393.17	£ 1,461,591.27	£ 1,553,898.70	£ 1,650,618.11	£ 1,720,374.32	£ 1,754,488.24	£ 1,780,853.39

Feasibility all level	2003	2004	2005
Requirement x 1000	£ 7,236,095.82	£ 7,785,932.69	£ 8,574,764.02
Capacity x 1000	£ 5,275,096.25	£ 5,914,086.58	£ 6,614,235.65
Feasibility x 1000	£ 1,960,999.57	£ 1,871,846.11	£ 1,960,528.36

Chart 26 (continue) Feasibility of school provision of all level, 1989-2005



By projecting the curves further, it may possible to estimate when twelve-year basic education will be feasible. Principally based on the break-even concept, it will occur when the two curves meet. It is, therefore, necessary to make further projections of the requirement and capacity curves until the two lines meet so that the feasibility point can be seen.

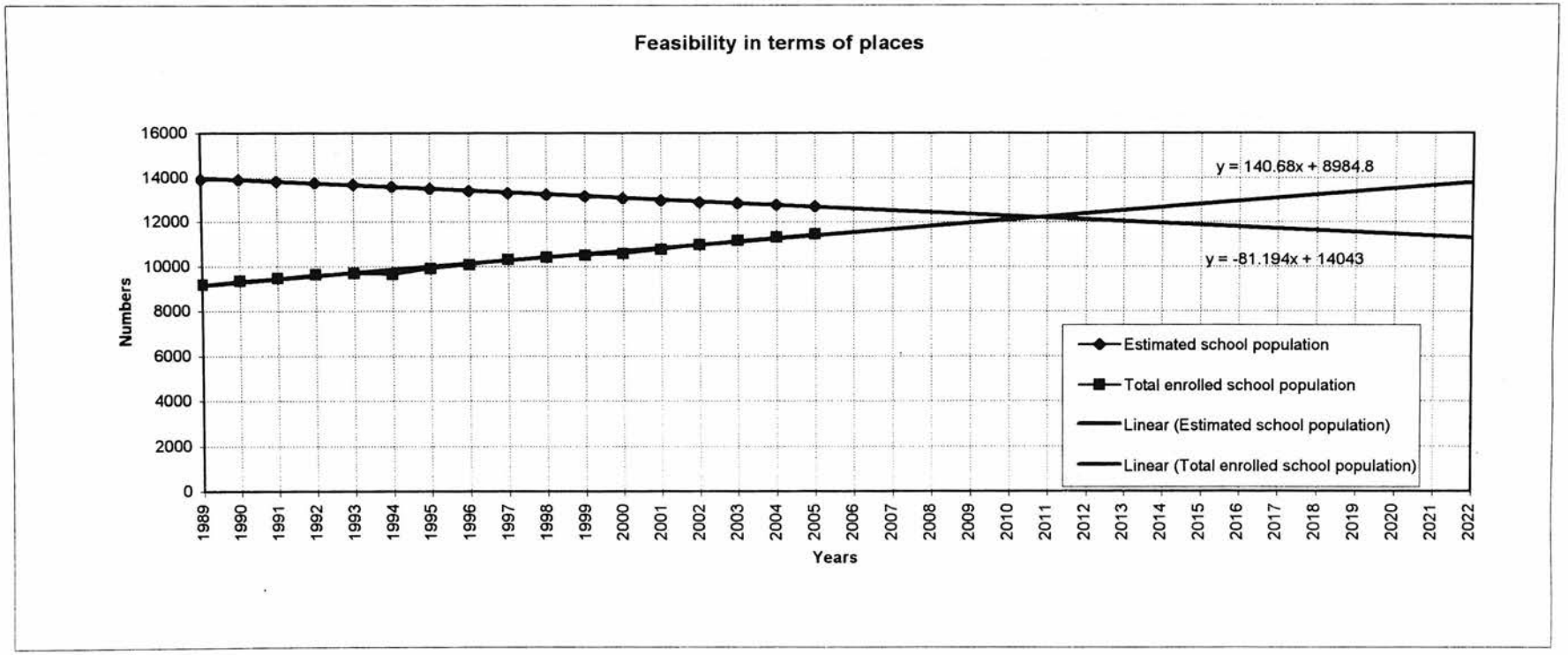
Consequently the two lines must be projected further by the regression analysis method, which gives the best-fit projection for each line. The projected line of the school age population is shown on the next page based on the equation y = -81.194X + 14043, while the capacity curve is based on y = 140.68X + 8987.8. From the projection presented in Chart 27, the break-even point occurs where the two lines meet between 2010 and 2011, and so that it can be inferred that the capacity to support school facilities for the whole school age population will be feasible from the academic year 2011and beyond.

The two curves of feasibility in terms of finance must also be projected further by the regression analysis. The nature of educational expenditure which increases annually due to the yearly adjustment of salaries and other related factors, means that these cannot be straight lines. In Chart 28 the projected curve of the finance required for the whole school age population was computerised and appears on the next page. It is based on the equation $y = 2E+O6e^{0.0925X}$, while the financial capacity for basic education is based on the equation $y = 941545e^{0.1143X}$. From these projections, the break-even point is where the two curves meet in the year 2017. Thus, the capacity to provide finance for the entire school age population will only be feasible from the academic year 2017.

In Chart 27 and 28 on the following pages, the projections suggest that the capacity in terms of places for providing 12-year basic education will be raised gradually to meet the demand for full enrolment of the entire school age population. The government may not raise the budgetary allocation to finance the entire educational programme since it has already invested in many places for basic schooling. It is not possible to supply the entire school age population by 2011. This means that although there will be enough places for everyone by 2011, it is not possible for the government to make it free for all. School fees in some educational levels may have to be charged as long as the budgetary allocation is available. The projections have proved that the government cannot provide universal 12-year basic education as targeted by 2001. It lacks both places and financial capacity in the secondary level. It is projected that free service of the 12-year basic education programme for the entire school age population will be possible by 2017.

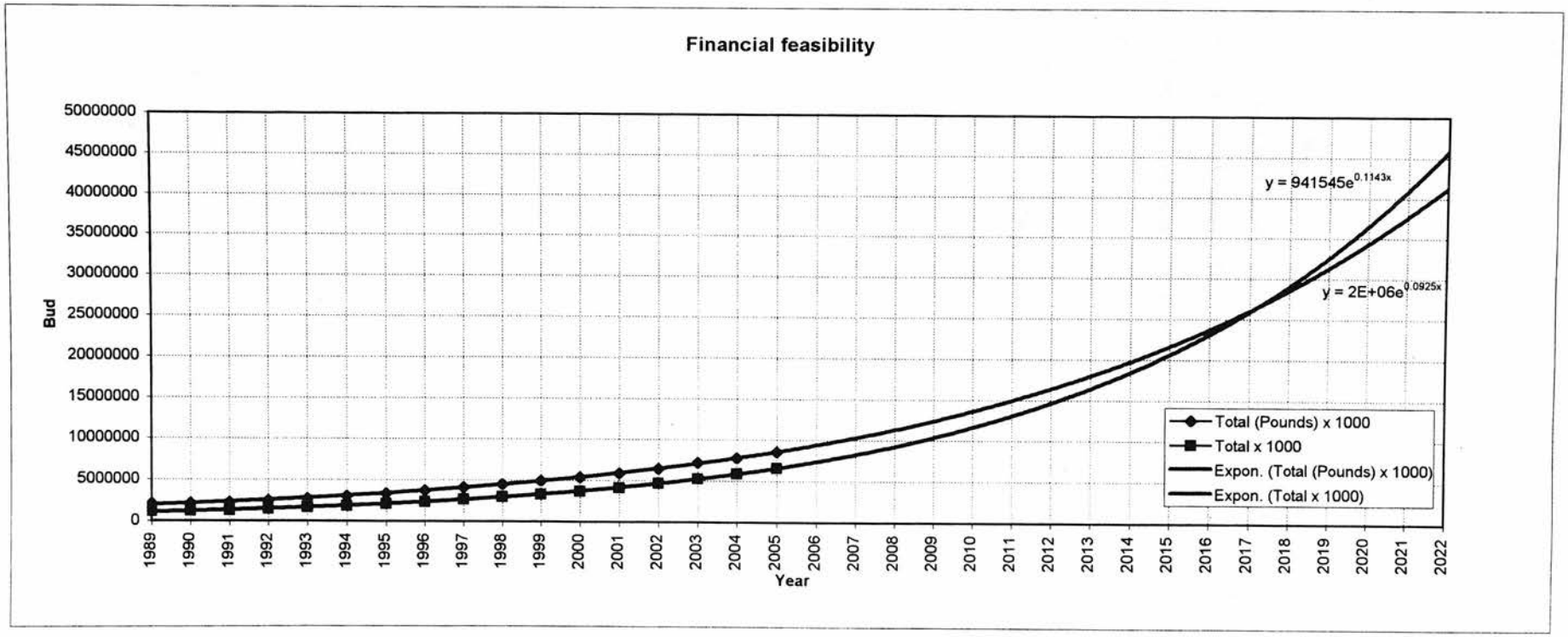
Feasibility

Chart 27 Feasibility of school provision of all level, 1989-2021



Feasibility

Chart 28 Financial feasibility of school provision of all level, 1989-2021



Environmental Uncertainty

It is the economic uncertainty of Thailand that underlies the "Environmental Uncertainty" of the Contingency Approach, which is significant in the final phase IV, the Implementation stage. The Contingency Approach is equipped with a flexible instrument, an "adaptive management", which is capable of adjusting the plan or of clarifying or translating broad guidelines and plans from central government into refined modified and specific action subplans at local level. This can be achieved through discussion, bargaining and compromise, both before and during the implementation stage to cope with environmental changes.

With the application of the Contingency Approach to analyses the success of the education reform plan in a developing country like Thailand, which is characterised by a high degree of uncertainty, "Environmental uncertainty" is given full emphasis. The environmental uncertainty, dealing with exogenous factors affecting the model, influences and determines the successful implementation of the four phases of the Contingency Approach as follows:

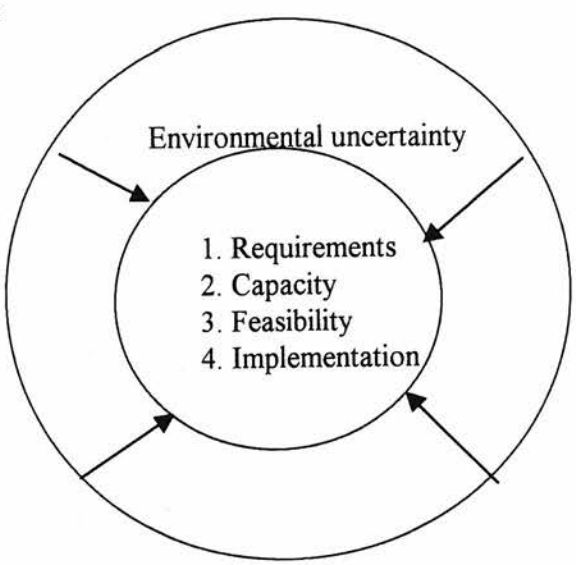


Figure 19: Environmental uncertainty in action (a revised Contingency Approach model for analysing the education reform plan)

In other words, the successful implementation of the education reform plan is contingent upon certain sets of conditions in a situation of environmental uncertainty. If there is a change in any item in this set, the implementation may be affected. Flexible adjustments or alternative action plans should be drawn up to cope with these possible changes. These flexible plans of action will then be held ready for specific circumstances.

It is impractical to quantify or give discrete value or money value to these abstract exogenous factors of environmental uncertainty. However, they can be classified under three separate headings,

(I) the national economy
(II) the implementing organisations of education reform
(III) the position of the beneficiaries

(I) The national economy

Since 1995 the Thai economy has weakened so much that the Bank of Thailand has had to implement restrictive monetary measures to control domestic inflation and reduce the deficit in the current account. The two measures taken were: 1) limiting the credit extension of commercial banks, especially for activities deemed of little benefit to the overall economy; and 2) maintaining a high domestic interest rate as a means to restrain the private sector's spending (Bank of Thailand, 1996). However, these two measures seem to have been ineffective. The higher domestic interest rates have attracted short-term funds from abroad rather than within the country. This situation has, therefore, lessened; the effectiveness of monetary policy, and has in fact adversely affected small and medium sized businesses, which are not in a position to secure funds from overseas.

Since the middle of 1996, efforts have been made to close this loophole; the Bank of Thailand has blocked the inflow of short-term funds by implementing additional measures (Bank of Thailand, 1997a). However, due to an increased deficit in the current account, a major problem for the government, the Thai economy has been going through a difficult period. Simultaneously there has been much greater competition in trade within the world market. While previously cheap labour was a significant advantage for progress in the national economy, this has been eroded because of the rising costs of domestic labour (Bangkok Bank, 1997a). The economy of Thailand has become fragile and vulnerable, and savings in the country have proved insufficient. The Thai economy experienced a sudden downturn towards the middle of 1997 without any sign of warning. [This is an example of "Environmental Uncertainty" (Rondinelli, et al. 1990).]

In 1997 Thailand's financial situation weakened further, the current account deficit had risen to 2% of the GDP (Wibulswasdi, 1998), a deficit that was considered too high. In August, 1997, the Thai Government decided to accept a standby arrangement of $US 4 billion from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This was granted on the condition that if it was drawn upon it would incur debt obligations. The duration of the arrangement is 34 months lasting until the year 2000. They may possibly prolong this agreement. The Thai Government has tackled and directed the economic recovery in the way that the IMF package outlined. The most significant financial measure was that value added tax was raised from 7% to 10 % (Bank of Thailand, 1997b).

It does not, therefore, seem to be guaranteed that the state's budget allocation will be sufficiently geared towards the requirements of the education reform plan from the second year of the plan, i.e. from 1998 onwards. This may undermine the feasibility / implementation of education reform and may require either a revision of the plan or allowance for the private sector to take a more active role. It is possible that the

economic crisis may end the 12-year basic education reform plan if no measure is introduced.

However, the Thai Government is following the IMF package which specified that although national budget spending was to be decreased, the educational budgetary allocation for the basic education needs to be supplied (Bank of Thailand, 1997b). By April, 1998, the crisis situation had changed.

> After the close-down of unavailable finance companies, the remaining financial institution system has been expeditiously strengthened to meet international standards which includes recapitalization and tightening of loan classification standards (Wibulswasdi, 1998: 1)

By August 1998, the situation had continued to improve considerably with all the performance criteria having been met. This helped consolidate Thailand's external situation, increase further net international reserves and maintain broad currency stability. "Liquidity conditions improve, and inflation decreases" (Bank of Thailand, 1998: 1).

The Thai Government has confirmed that

> Significant progress has been made in rebuilding confidence and paving the way for a sustainable and strong economic recovery. Were new pressures to arise, the government stands ready to take, in consultation with the IMF, whatever additional measures may be necessary to ensure the continued success of the program (Bank of Thailand, 1998b: 2).

It is, therefore, arguable that the Thai Government will find a way to improve the economic situation, and thus provide the educational budget for the 12-year basic educational programme.

(II) The implementing organisations of education reform

Besides the above exogenous factor of environmental uncertainty, the success of the education reform plan also depends on the existing implementing machinery of state organisations/agencies and departments in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs as well as the national education planning authority, the National Education Commission (NEC).

The five existing implementing departments and offices in the Ministry of Education are:

1. The Office of the National Primary Education Commission
2. The General Education Department
3. The Teachers Training Department
4. The Curriculum and Education Innovation Department
5. The Office of the Private Education Commission

There are also two existing implementing agencies in the Ministry of Interior Affairs:

1. The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration
2. The Department of Local Governments - provincial municipal governments

It can be concluded that the education reform plan, which aims to increase mandatory schooling from a six-year primary education to a twelve-year system, falls within the current mission and functions of the above mentioned implementing organisations and agencies. The existing staff is quite sufficient and capable of undertaking the additional workload created by the education reform plan.

The Teacher Training Department is capable of producing the numbers of teachers required for the education reform and is in a position to improve their quality and to conform to the new curricula to be set by the Curriculum and Education Innovation Department. It is intended that the improved curricula will help meet the demands and changes of globalisation.

The departments and agencies in the two ministries have been given clear authority and jurisdiction in their spheres of administration and management. Especially as regards the division of responsibility between the local municipal governments in the province and the Office of the National Primary Education Commission, which has to work closely with the Department of General Education which controls the lower and upper secondary education levels. The current divisions of responsibility are responsive to the needs and requirements of education reform. In the past, the education machinery set-up was capable of carrying out the national task; hence it is to be expected that the same organisations/agencies should be able to carry out the additional workload imposed by the education reform plan, since the task is under their direct responsibility and jurisdiction and is not a new type of work. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in, or opposition to, assuming this additional responsibility.

(III) The position of the beneficiaries

Although the beneficiaries of 12-years' compulsory education are the school attenders and parents, there may, however, be some 20% of the poorest class of parents (NESDB, 1992) who will still be reluctant to send their children to school. Instead these children will probably work to supplement their family income, especially during the initial stage of the education reform, between 1997 and 1999 when the instruments to enforce compulsory education have not yet been put into operation. To enforce compliance of the whole school age population with the 12-year basic education programme requires that many organic laws be enacted, especially the new National Education Act and the Basic Education Compulsory Act. If these organic laws are not enacted, there will be no legal force to penalise parents who do not comply with the new policy of education reform. These organic laws are now, in 1998, in the parliamentary process of enactment.

On 21 October 1998, the House of Parliament agreed to the principle of a National Educational Act (Thailand, 1998). However, in the first quarter of 1999 it has not been legitimised. This may because during 1997 and 1999 Thailand was in a state of political uncertainty as three sets of governments succeeded each other in managing the country. In effect compulsory enforcement will only able to take place at the beginning of the academic year 1999. This normally starts in May for primary education and in June for secondary level.

If the enforcement will only be able to take place at the beginning of 1999's academic year there will be an automatic postponement of the twelve-year basic education reform from 1997 to 1999. There will then be a backlog of enrolment from 1997 and 1998 which would have to be enforced in 1999, thereby overloading some schools. On the other hand the private sector, helped by state subsidises, could assist with the programme by taking a more active role than in the past. More private participation during the critical period would be worthwhile and mutually beneficial to educational provision as a whole. This requires revision of the national policy in connection with the role of private participation in helping to remedy the critical situation. However the delay in promulgation may be possible.

Feasibility analysis of the twelve-year basic educational provision

In this section, factors affecting the feasibility of a twelve-year basic education provision will be analysed. The four factors predominantly focused on are the readiness of the population, the readiness of the state, the readiness of the private sector and equality of access to education.

I) The readiness of the population

The rapid economic growth of Thailand during the 1980's accelerated the progress of national development; this can be seen by the average 7% growth in GDP which took place over the decade (NESDB, 1992). However, it is a fact that accelerated economic progress normally leads to a higher cost of living, due to the rise in the prices of commodities and services. In 1997 value added tax was raised from 7% to 10 % (Bank of Thailand, 1997b). The higher VAT in turn pushed prices higher which affected the whole population, especially those of lower economic status.

This problem has been exacerbated over the past decade. The economic situation in Thailand during the 1990s has increased the disparities between incomes because the economy has been dependent upon outside investors. This raised the GDP and increased the average income of the whole country, but this national progress has only benefited some groups since the aggregate wealth has been unequally distributed among the population. With regard to occupation, business owners have generally had the highest economic status. In 1994, the average income of business owners was 122,391 baht

(£ 2,447.82) per month, which works out at £ 29,373.84 per annum; by contrast the average income of workers in the agriculture sector was ten times less, 11,038 baht (£ 220.76) per month (The Social and Welfare Department, 1994).

The higher GDP may have benefited people of medium and high economic status, but those on lower status incomes such as general workers, have not prospered similarly. Their basic wage in 1997 was 120 baht (or £ 2.4) per day in Bangkok, and 90 baht (or £ 1.8) in other provinces (The Social and Welfare Department, 1994). This works out to about £ 70 per month in Bangkok and a mere £ 54 per month elsewhere.

Areas of residence can serve as an indicator of economic disparities, especially the difference between living in urban and rural areas. Accommodation and the general cost of living are much higher in urban areas. The majority of the Thai population (82.30%) live outside the municipality areas of the towns and in rural areas where public utilities, such as water drainage, water supply, telephones, transportation etc. are less widespread and underdeveloped. Only 17.70 % of the population live within the municipalities or in urban areas where facilities are better and the general standard of living is higher (MOIA, 1992)

On the other hand, for the majority of the people, family income is relatively low and insufficient, despite a lower rural cost of living. For instance, in 1992 the population in the Bangkok Metropolitan area and its three surrounding provinces had higher average incomes than any other provinces: 56,298 baht (£ 1,125.96) with an average increase of 20.2% per annum; conversely the population in the north-eastern region of Thailand had the lowest average income per capita of 12,628 baht (£ 252.56) per annum (NESDB 1992: 10). [The exchange rate is £ 1 = 50 baht.]

Between 1986 and 1990, the average income of the whole country per family per month was 5,625 baht (equal to £ 112.5), or 67,500 baht (£1,350) per annum, whereas their expenses per month were 5,439 baht (£ 108.78). The average income increase per family was 15 % per annum, whereas the average increase in prices was 15.3 %. Low income seems to be a significant problem for the two groups who earn the least. The agricultural sector had the lowest income with agricultural workers earning 8,943 baht (£ 178.86) per annum, while the income of a general worker was 11,539 baht (£ 230.78) per annum (NESDB, 1992: 13).

With family expenses running at an average of 96.7% of income, based on the above figures this means that the remaining 3.3%, equal to a mere 185.6 Baht (£3.71) per month or 2,228 baht (£44.55) per year, was all that was left over (Office of National Statistics, 1986; 1988; 1990: 408-410). This nation-wide phenomenon produces a land where most families have no savings to safeguard against emergencies. Between 1986 and 1990 only 1.3% of family income went on education. But how can the average family be expected to increase that proportion when they have only £44.55 left over each year after paying for their living costs of food, drink, clothing, shelter and other utilities. The average family cannot afford the standard tuition fees for a private school which worked out in 1997 at £80 per annum unsubsidised, and £48 for a subsidised school. This of course is only the cost of sending one child to school; most families have two or more children who need educating. Additionally, since the given level of average family income is heavily weighted by the inclusion of the earnings of the wealthy, this means that the vast bulk of the population is below this level. A large majority of Thai families do not even have £44.55 left over and any sort of private education is way beyond their means (Office of National Statistics, 1986; 1988; 1990: 408-410).

Thus children from lower and even some middle income families have to enrol in public primary schools, which are free of charge. If a family's low economic status prevents their children from studying in a private school, then obviously the vast majority of Thai children have no chance whatsoever of attending either an international or a bilingual school where the school fees are much higher still [from £ 1,000 - £ 7,000 per annum in academic year 1998]. The chance to benefit from a higher standard curriculum is, therefore, ruled out. It is no surprise that the majority of parents enrol their children in public schools or that the financially subsidised private schools are more popular than the ones without subsidising from the government.

This is a significant problem for 12-year basic education, since the much poorer agricultural sector constitutes the majority (57.46%) of the country's workforce (NESDB, 1992). They may be neither willing nor able to pay, nor aware that secondary education is necessary for their children. Although parents from the agricultural sector might prefer their children to continue their studies to a higher level, this has been impossible due to their inability to support the expense of secondary education, and through the fact that they also require their children to work to supplement their inadequate family income (NEC, 1995b).

Research shows that in 1992, 71.77% of a sample of heads of families who prevented their children from entering lower secondary education indicated their reasons for doing so were a result of the family's poverty. 19.39 % attributed it to the laziness of children or health problems, and 9.86% believed education to be unnecessary (NEC, 1992d). The same research indicates that families with high incomes placed greater importance on secondary schooling than those with low incomes (NEC, 1992d). With the poorer sectors of society having little or no chance of educational equality, their children, therefore, have less opportunity of attending secondary education, and thus less hope of entering good careers in the future.

Moreover, parents are the only people who can make the decision for their children as to whether or not they should continue their studies. Family economics and educational background seem to play a significant role in depriving children of the chance to enrol in secondary schools or in causing them to drop out before graduating. In 1991, about 5 % of labourers had had no education at all, 78% had had primary education or lower, 6% had had lower secondary level, and 5% had had upper-secondary or vocational education. The remainder of labourers, around 5%, had university degrees or diplomas (Office of the National Statistics, 1991). All heads of families with a background of upper secondary education and beyond were willing to enrol their children, but those with only lower secondary education or less were more reluctant because they intended to keep their children at work, supplementing the family's income. For example, only 50% of fishery workers were willing to enrol their children in lower secondary education (NEC, 1992d). Since the economic recession has had an impact on the poorer economic status group, they may not enrol their children in 12-year basic schooling.

If the twelve-year basic education programme were to be made fully operational as a compulsory system, the whole school age population would benefit from free education in state schools [although private schools could still be allowed to charge school fees at all levels]. However, ensuring that the whole school age population did indeed take part in the twelve years of education programme would require it to be compulsory; and in order to achieve that additional legislation authorising enforcement is needed.

2) The readiness of the public sector

Between 1992 and 1996, the state started the expansion of the public educational services beyond primary level to provide a nine-year basic education programme. Some of the state primary schools run by the ONPEC have expanded their school facilities in order to be able to provide lower secondary education (NESDB, 1992). Regarding the educational coverage, the ratio of lower secondary schools to districts was 1:1 whereas the ratio of primary schools to all districts was 4.7:1 (NEC, 1995b).

As regards the quantity of state teachers, in 1993 the number of personnel in government agencies comprising the Department of General Education and the Office of the National Primary Education Commission was sufficient for the lower secondary level. The ratio of teachers to students for the whole country was 1:20 and this was regarded by the state as sufficient. In contrast the quality of state teachers posed problems. The schools received a yearly budget allocation for personnel but there was still a shortage, principally because most teachers did not want to work in remote parts of the country (NEC, 1995b: 34), such as the border areas where their security was at risk. For this reason, the Border Police Patrol had to take responsibility for helping to provide educational services for children in these areas.

In 1992 the lack of qualified teachers in mathematics and science at lower-secondary level was still a significant problem for the quality of schooling. Only 74.17% of mathematics teachers had a proper educational background in maths, while 10.99 % of them were obliged to teach other subjects. 11.35% of science teachers did not hold a science qualification (MOE, 1993).

Of particular significance is the fact that many state teachers in the primary schools run by the ONPEC had low level degrees, such as diplomas (two years out of a 4-year bachelor degree (ONPEC, 1995), yet this qualification was seen as adequate for primary pupils. When these schools expanded their facilities to provide lower secondary level teaching, the lack of qualified teachers created difficulty in reaching the lower secondary standard. The teachers were thus sent to complete their bachelor degrees. But most of them (69.97%) studied Thai language and social studies (ONPEC, 1995: 8). 15.23% of these school teachers took qualifications in science, 5.48% in mathematics, and 9.32% in foreign languages. Consequently, there were insufficient teachers in science subjects. For instance, in 1995, the schools of the ONPEC were short of 552 science teachers, 2,095 mathematics teachers, 1,739 English teachers, and 643 other teachers. At upper secondary level too the numbers of science teachers in physics, chemistry and biology were inadequate (ONPEC, 1995).

Regarding compulsory primary education, the state has achieved satisfactory results, but lacks effective means with which to enforce attendance or pursue those who quit part of the way through. Though primary education is compulsory, enrolment is not comprehensive, and there are dropouts each year. At lower secondary level it seems that in terms of quality, there is sufficient provision to cope with enrolment, but problems will surely occur in the future because of the lack of teachers in certain major subjects. In the case of upper-secondary or vocational levels, no plans have so far been made because the twelve-year basic education proposal only became an issue at the middle of 1997.

The state-related agencies have not yet studied the possibility of satisfying the demand in these fields. The role of the state is strong in upper secondary schooling since the state upper secondary schools are popular among students on account of their high academic competitiveness and good reputation. By contrast, state vocational schooling seems less competitive than that of the private sector. Quantity of teachers is a continual problem at this level due to a shortage in certain major subjects in both public and private secondary and vocational schools.

If the state has to take sole responsibility for the twelve-year basic education, it will have to bear a huge burden of investment to support half of the vocational students in the private sector and the operating cost of their education. The operating cost of vocational education is the highest among all levels of basic education. [In 1990, the educational cost per pupil per annum of vocational education was £ 341.01, upper secondary was £ 143.33, lower secondary was £ 143.33 and primary education was £ 110.89 (NEC, 1990).] The other obstacle is that there are fewer state lower secondary or upper secondary schools than primary schools in the country. The state primary schools that have already been extended to provide lower secondary facilities seem to be struggling because of the limits of land available for expansion. This suggests there is a need for investment in new schools at all these levels, which will no doubt be costly.

Although the state has mobilised educational resources from both the public and the private sectors to carry the educational burden, the scope for increasing the amount allocated to education is limited. The only way to raise its share would be to adjust the proportion allotted to other state expenditures.

As noted previously in the research projections described above, it would appear that it is not feasible for the state to provide sufficient capacity for the number of students or the budget allocation needed for the expansion of basic education to twelve years by the targeted year of 2001. However, by maintaining the actual amount of the capacity and its increasing rate, a basic education of 12 years can be made feasible with private participation, although only latter than the proposed year of 2001.

The research findings suggest that the state then has no need to invest in new schools nor to replace private facilities. The only new task for the state would seem to be that of finding a way to eliminate educational disparities, especially between rich and poor. If equal access to education can be provided to all children, regardless of economic status, then at least equality of education opportunity will have been given a start.

It can be argued that the state should perhaps grant financial subsidies to all private schools. These would cover the cost of student education at each level, and so ensure that everyone has the right to quality education wherever they study, and has the opportunity to complete twelve years of basic education programme. However, this would be possible only on the condition that the state maintained the normal increase in the educational budget allocation, and invested 100% in the capital costs of upper secondary and vocational education, and 100% in the operational costs incurred by the whole school age population. This would involve the state in having to invest a huge amount while the country was still facing an economic slump; in such a context it seems futile for the state to attempt to replace private participation. The alternatives for 12-year basic educational provision will be suggested in the fourth phase of the research.

3) The readiness of the private sector

The state has in fact realised the significance of private participation, and according to the national education development plans it will support and promote private schools. The state allows individuals, groups of individuals, or other agencies to share the responsibility for educational provision under the supervision and monitoring of the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) within the Ministry of Education. However, due to strict controls over the private sector, in addition to rules and regulations governing private schools, some practitioners feel that there are obstacles to private participation, and that the role of private participation is not being allowed to increase.

In these research findings it was noted that over half of all private school operators (55.16%) say they will find it possible to expand classrooms or school facilities to support a 12-year basic education (Questionnaire, question 1.7). However, private entrepreneurs may be reluctant to invest in new schools, especially as the Thai economy has been in decline since 1997. Whether or when the economy will improve is an unknown factor. Even if the state were to attempt to take sole responsibility for the basic education covering primary and secondary levels, there would still be pre-primary education and vocational education in which private entrepreneurs could invest. Thus, if the state needs private participation, it is necessary for it to revise its rules and regulations to suit private school management, and to develop and improve policies to attract more private investment and commitment. (This was discussed in Chapter 5.)

4) Equality of access to education

It was noted in the earlier sections that adequate primary and secondary schooling has, until now, been provided, at least in the sense of there being an adequate number of schools for the number of pupils attending. However, there are still problems of equality of access, since "donations" play an important role in getting into certain public and private schools. It is necessary to point this out in this research because it threatens to be a continuing problem when the 12-year basic education becomes fully operational.

"Donations" by parents or guardians to a school are quite normal and are a concealed factor in the cost of educational provision. They form an additional source of finance circulating in the educational system. In principle, all Thai children are entitled to a place in a state school. In former days, parents or guardians offered teaching equipment such as desks, chairs, typewriters, and so on, instead of money. The donations helped ensure a place in a school near the child's residence or in a famous school. Places in the particularly prestigious schools are usually limited. Once the donations were made, the head teacher or director could make the standard classes in secondary schools (normally containing 40-45 students) available to 60 students, thus creating overenrolment.

Currently, state schools try to get round the rule prohibiting this practice by setting up Teacher and Guardian Associations to disguise donations. Through a gap in the law, such an association can accept donations in the form of money. The association may act on a school' s behalf when it needs money. The school' s management normally informs the association in advance of what they need, such as computer facilities, new buildings or training abroad.

Chamlong Krutkuntod, Deputy Minister of the MOE pointed out that the reason donations of money were being made by parents to public schools was that there were disparities in educational standards among the public schools (1997). He mentioned that donations for places occur because so many students apply to the few most academic schools. The opportunity to continue their study, either in secondary or at vocational level, without taking the entrance examination is offered as a special privilege to the children of school supporters. The extent of this practice is shown by the fact that approximately 10% of all students' parents make donations to schools in Thailand (Krutkuntod, 1997). However, since donations for places are illegal, the precise amount of money involved is uncertain. The author's experience suggests that in 1997 the level of donations per pupil can range from 3,000-5,000 baht (£ 60-100) for a less well-known public school, to 300,000-500,000 baht (£ 6,000-10,000) for a famous one. Donations to a public school may reach 10 million baht (£ 200,000) each year. Financial circulation in a pupil and parents association in a Catholic school, with around 2,000 primary and secondary students, is as high as 47 million baht (£ 940,000) Saint Dominic Past Pupils Association, 1998). As the money flows in and out all year round, the management of the association and the school may co-operate in sharing the advantages of this extra money.

Donations to prestigious private schools are frequent because the OPEC controls the level of school fees which in turn limits their income and provides insufficient funding for further development. In private schools it seems that income from these two sources enable them to cope with day-to-day expenses. However, that may not leave adequate finance for these schools to improve their educational quality. Research found that 33% of private schools are in profit, 44% have adequate finance for their operating costs, but 22% have inadequate funding even for their operating costs (Questionnaire, question no. 2.1).

This has come about because the bulk of a school's income is spent on teacher's salaries, maintenance costs and advertising. The school is thus dependent upon extra income to pay for management costs and the future development of school facilities. Moreover, since fee levels are stable, with only low annual incremental adjustments allowed by the OPEC, they prove inadequate for meeting rapidly increasing educational expenses.

Although a private school can ask permission to increase school fees, it must present a report to the OPEC at a specific period during the academic year. If the school asks permission in the first term, permission may be given in the second term and thereby a term's profit is lost, although compensation may be awarded in the second term to cover the first term's losses. However, permission may not always be given, as the OPEC will not approve an increase if the school is unable to justify it. Permission is also dependent upon government policy. Since there have been, and continue to be, frequent changes of government, previous educational policies may not always endure. For instance, in 1989 a policy of financial subsidy for private schools established after 1974 should have been introduced (NEC, 1989). This meant that all private schools would now have received the same rate of subsidy; this was intended to diminish the disparities between subsidised and non-subsidised private schools. The subsidy to all private schools was being considered annually between 1989 and 1996, but it was not enforced. Political instability led to changes in the Ministry of Education and the government; whereupon the policy was never implemented (NESDB, 1992; 1996).

This research has found that owing to financial hardship and strong competition from the public sector and other private schools, a private school has to find other ways to survive. Some schools augment their incomes by obliging their students to attend school-lunch programmes, buy learning materials sold by the school, attend extra-curricular classes during the summer, or do extra courses in the evening or at the weekend (Questionnaire, question no. 2.2)

Donations seem to be a prerequisite for entering private schools. Historically donations to private schools originated in missionary schools of both the Catholic and Protestant churches. In the past, the private missionary schools were of high quality and were managed as limited partnerships. Extra money received was set aside as a reserve fund for school expenditures. This money was spent on raising the schools' standards, the renovation of buildings, buying modern technical teaching and learning aid, appointing efficient teachers and providing social welfare for the teaching staff. Although they charged low school fees because they were registered as non-profit making foundations, they required donations from parents as a financial aid to academic improvement.

Nowadays parents who require a place in a well-known private school are willing to pay donations without any conditions. The school will ask the parents to make an offer of a donation before the announcement of the entrance examination results. The level of donation varies among the private schools depending on how famous they are. A very well known private school may limit the yearly enrolment to 100 pupils, whereas they may receive about 5,000 applications annually. Since the majority of affluent parents are willing to buy a place for their children, there is little objection to the high donations being asked by these schools.

The author's experience suggests that applicants to private schools are classified into two categories: the first are those who have good scores and need an academically competitive school; the second are those who have low scores, with little chance of passing the school's entrance examination, but still wanting to secure a place in a famous school. The parents or guardians of the two groups try to persuade the school to admit their children by offering higher sums of extra money. The amount varies according to the number of applicants vis-à-vis the number of places available in a school.

Kowit Prawalpruek, the secretary of the OPEC, specified the amounts that parents or guardians have offered some well-known private schools: at St.Francis Xavier's Convent it was 200,000 baht (£ 4,000); at St.Gabriel's College, Bangkok Christian College and Assumption College it was more than 250,000 baht (£ 5,000). These schools stressed that the donations were for school development and the engagement of foreign teachers to improve teaching and learning. Prawalpruek pointed out that 40-50 % of parents or guardians pay extra money for this special privilege in public and private schools, in both general and vocational education and that the OPEC would find it difficult to control this practice, especially in the most prestigious schools (Prawalpruek, 1997).

In short, owing to this loophole in the educational rules and regulations, schools and associations actually create inequality in the Thai education system. The right to education of the Thai population is not equally distributed among all children, since the better off have greater privileges and opportunities than the rest. This is a significant factor for children's future careers, since state universities have limited places and require applicants to compete in a national entrance examination for tertiary level education. Those well-off students who get places in academically competitive schools have better prospects of studying at this level. When the 12-year basic education programme is fully operational with more students requiring places, this inequitable situation will become an even more crucial task for the state to tackle.

The model for 12-year basic educational provision

The argument of this thesis has been that a Contingency Approach provides the most efficient model for the planning and management of Thailand's education. As has been shown in the previous sections, the Contingency Approach allows for changes occurring in the requirements, capacity and feasibility. In terms of the proposals for a twelve-year basic educational programme, the approach is useful. Such an approach has become even more important with the onset of the sudden economic crisis in the middle of 1997. The shaky and uncertain prospect of economic recovery in the immediate short run means that the national education reform plan, which had been preplanned for many years, will have to be reconsidered to conform to and cope with a deteriorated economic situation. As noted, the government was planning to extend six years of compulsory primary education to twelve years of basic education beginning in partial form from 1997 in conjunction with the starting year of the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan of 1997-2001. In light of the foregoing analysis, which delineated, examined and assessed the previous three phases of the Contingency Approach, it may be argued that this education reform plan, targeted to be completed in 2001 is too ambitious. The extension from six to twelve years may be too long a time span to administer and finance or for schools to manage. This is even more likely to be the case if the economic situation does not improve.

Based on the research findings, and the "adaptive management" component of the Contingency Approach, this study suggests that there are four alternative plans which might be worth the government consideration to enable it to provide a universal 12-year educational system. Each has its pros and cons depending on the policy adopted by the government. They are as follows:

1. Postponement of the national plan for another three years
2. Going ahead with the plan as it stands in all aspects
3. Going ahead with the plan with a more active role played by the private sector
4. Shortening the compulsory education period from twelve to nine years during the current economic crisis.

First alternative: Postponement of the national education plan

Because of the existing economic uncertainty, it may be advantageous for the government to postpone the basic education reform plan until the year 2001, when the Bank of Thailand expects the economic situation to have improved (Bank of Thailand, 1998). If the economic situation in the year 2001 is propitious enough to permit the launch of the plan, the 12-year basic educational provision regarding the second, the third or the fourth alternative will then be launched. Otherwise the plan will have to be postponed further until the economy has recovered.

The first alternative is a prudent but non-aggressive strategy to ensure success of the reform. It is a conservative type of management adhering to the motto slow and steady wins the race. It is based on the recognition that the domestic financial resources are and will continue to be insufficient to provide the annual additional public spending on education during the crisis.

During the wait-and-see period between 1998 and 2001, it is crucial not only for the economy to recover, but also for the economic recovery of the whole Thai population. The affluent may not be as seriously effected as poorer people, especially the 20% of the poorest class who constitute 12 million of the 60 million people living in Thailand (NESDB, 1992). The poorest group has probably suffered the worst from the higher inflation and VAT superimposed on their existing bare subsistence level of living. Many have been thrown out of employment and there is no social provision for these desperately poor and jobless people. This group may be reluctant to accept secondary schooling, and, instead of enrolling their children in school, poorer parents may prefer to send them out to work to supplement the family income.

The state should not impose additional costs on their already subsistence level existence. It can be argued that the action plans for this first alternative is unremarkable because it incorporates the following features:

(1) Ensuring that the economic situation in the next three years is ripe for launching the plan and using an "adaptive management strategy" to adjust to changes in each item of environmental uncertainty so that the plan remains flexible and alterable according to local conditions.

(2) Assistance offered, during the three-year postponement during the crisis, to the poorest class of parents to supplement their income by training them to become capable of more productive or additional work. Some children from the poorest class, especially those with special needs, would be given free lunches during school attendance as part of a state welfare scheme. The Labour Department in the Ministry of Interior Affairs would be responsible for seeing that the 20% underprivileged families are upgraded in their skills or trained in other skills which would allow them to earn additional income, either on their farmlands or in the labour market.

However, the policy of postponement would constitute a severe setback to educational reform, which is aimed at the majority of the population who are in urgent need of a higher level of basic education to improve their future prospects and protect their chances of earning a livelihood. If the government favours an aggressive strategy to tackle the problem, the second alternative would be more appropriate.

Second alternative: Going ahead with the plan as it stands in all aspects

If the government does not like the idea of slow and steady wins the race being its policy, then it may adopt another principle: first and foremost the people must be educated to exploit their natural resources or else they will be exploited. Then the second alternative, going ahead with the plan as it stands in all aspects would be more appropriate. It would, however, need a more aggressive approach and strategy to meet the plan's objectives. It would require single-minded determination by a strong government willing to promulgate compulsory 12-year basic educational programme.

As prescribed in the constitution of 1997, the policy was for the state to assume sole responsibility for the provision of school facilities and budgeting for the 12-year basic education programme when it was established in October 1997. Inherent in this policy, and necessary for its implementation and success, is the concept of compulsion. However, between 1997 and 1998, a national compulsory educational act was drafted by an ad hoc working group. On 21 October 1998 the cabinet presented a draft of this act for consideration (Thailand, 1998). Until the first quarter of 1999, it has been being processed but has not yet been legitimised. When the national compulsory education enforcement acts are eventually passed, the state will be legally obliged to provide all the necessary facilities for the entire school age population. Although the state implementing agencies and departments have in fact realised there are advantages to be gained from private participation; nevertheless they have tended to prefer taking on the additional responsibility for providing all the extra facilities. Perhaps, because they covet the chance of acquiring additional national budgetary allocation for themselves and hence enhancing their own power and importance.

The education reform plan was launched in conjunction with the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan 1997-2001, but without a National Educational Act and a Compulsory Education Act. This has meant that the continuation of children's study from grade 6 to grade 7 during this non-enforcement period has been voluntary and dependent upon the decision of parents. There is no legal compulsion forcing parents to send their children to school after the completion of grade 6 when the child labour market is wide open to them.

Affluent parents who can afford secondary education costs will comply with the twelve–year basic education policy, whereas poorer parents will not be happy letting their children continue their studies. In addition some students from poorer families, who have attended lower secondary education since 1997, will still drop out of schooling since there is no legal means of compelling them to stay on. It is an important task for the state to encourage these students to continue their learning, and the measures suggested in the first alternative may be helpful here.

This second alternative requires the full co-operation of the whole population in paying the taxes levied on education reform in a time of hardship. This is a do-or-die administrative strategy. The government will have to convince the Thai population that, in order to be survive in the long run; they will have to adhere steadfastly to the mobilisation of resources, to educate their children to a higher level. They will have to sacrifice today in order to survive tomorrow. This is a risky strategy because in order to benefit over the long run, the Thai population will have to adhere patiently to the mobilisation of resources through heavier taxation in order to educate their children without delay.

The government has to mobilise every source of funding to finance the twelve-year basic education from both inside and outside the country. This research has shown that, because there is not sufficient budget in the state coffers to provide funds for the required school facilities, other sources of income, beyond the state central budget, will have to be developed. It was suggested that among these could be: banking business managed by teacher councils (24.58%), the setting up of an educational lottery (14.45%), alcohol and cigarette taxes (17.11%), a text book copyright tax (12.29%), an international travel tax on Thais (7.81%) and adding 1% to VAT (5.81%) (Questionnaire, question no. 6).

If taxation proved to be inadequate for raising the necessary finance, the state would have to be prepared to increase the burden of international debt by borrowing from abroad. In contrast if the government cannot convince them to tolerate the heavier yoke of taxation and foreign indebtedness, then its desire to provide a 12-year basic education for which it is solely responsible will be thwarted. If taxation proved to be inadequate for raising the necessary finance, the state would have to be prepared to increase the burden of international debt by borrowing, especially from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank or other international organisations. By contrast if the government cannot convince them to tolerate the heavier yoke of taxation and foreign indebtedness, then its desire to provide a 12-year basic education for which it is solely responsible will be thwarted.

However, if the government sees that Thailand cannot stand the heavy burden of taxes and indebtedness and if it is willing to change the emphasis of the policy to the dual responsibility of the public and private education sectors, the following third alternative may perhaps offer a better course of action.

Third alternative: going ahead with the plan with a more active role-played by the private sector

If the government decides to change the balance of dual responsibility for schooling in the provision of twelve years basic education, it may make sense to postpone the policy of universal free education for a short period of time, say three years between 1998 and 2001, especially given the unfavourable economic situation.

If the state accepts the advantages of a greater private participation, it can convert sole responsibility into dual responsibility by allowing the private sector to take a more active role than at present. New private entrepreneurs will be more willing to participate, especially in vocational education where school facilities are inadequate. With financial subsidies provided by the state, private entrepreneurs and existing private schools may be attracted towards increasing participation at all levels. Without being-subsidised, they dare not venture further into the educational field which is strictly controlled by the OPEC, in terms of fees and teaching quality, and where they also have to compete with public schools.

If the government decides to do so, compulsory enforcement would begin in 2002 with the start of the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan. A greater and more active role for private participation would be encouraged by giving a subsidy of 40 % of educational costs to all private schools during the financial crisis between 1998 and 2001, with fees still making up the rest from parents. After the economic recovery the state should introduce a compulsory educational act to enforce all children to attend a 12 years of basic educational programme. At the same time it should gradually increase educational subsidy from 40% to 100% by issuing education vouchers to parents who

want to enrol their children in private schools. By accepting these vouchers, private schools would be able to claim 100% of educational costs from the state, through the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC). In this way parents would have the chance to enrol their children either in public or private schools depending on preference without having to pay donations or any additional fees.

According to the findings, to reduce educational expenditures in private schools the state should provide tax exemption on the following: school property and land (33.31%), teacher and staff income (26.32%), vehicle transport tax on school buses (21.03%) and income associated with school activities (16.98%) (Questionnaire, question no. 5). To increase the academic potential the state should 1) provide financial subsidy for all private schools, (22.52%); 2) private teachers should benefit from pension funds in the same way as state teachers (28.09%); 3) enrol teachers and distribute them to private schools (19.18%); 4) provide private schools with access to the state Internet and satellite educational programmes (26.36%) (Questionnaire, question no. 4). In this way, it should be sufficient for private schools to survive on an amount based on 100% of the educational cost of public schools. This is because the salary adjustment of private school teachers depends upon the school operator/owner and the profitability of the school.

Additionally, private school teachers receive fewer fringe benefits than public school teachers and need to find ways to increase their salaries. They are likely to volunteer to teach two shifts per day with extra overtime to be mutually agreed upon. By contrast, because teachers in public schools are civil servants, they are only allowed to teach one shift in accordance with their contracts, and their salaries have to be increased annually even if they are not promoted to higher positions.

To allow a more active role to be played by the private sector in education is also in a sense in conformity and compliance with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions of privatisation incorporated into the total package. Private participation in education is considered by the IMF to be a form of privatisation where the state can save some of its budget to channel to other more urgent projects. There will be a saving of 60% for the state at the expense of the private sector (the school and the parents) during each year if it subsidises the operating costs of the private sector by 40%, while also saving the fixed cost of 20% in the long run. As long as the economy remains depressed, the state need only subsidise private schools at this lower but comprehensive level. Private schools are largely concentrated in Bangkok and will be most active in well-populated areas where there are plenty of customers. The private schools will be present only in big cities and towns; in the remote areas, especially among the mountainous regions where tribal people normally live, public schools will have to be provided in the absence of private ones.

With this policy of encouraging a more active role for the private sector by granting subsidies and issuing education vouchers, private schools will be able to take over more responsibility from the state in both the short and long runs. If, however, the government is not happy about the idea of active private participation which is predominantly profit oriented, the government may care to choose the fourth alternative.

Fourth alternative: Shortening the compulsory education period from twelve to nine years during the current economic crisis

This alternative is suggested because the research found that the requirement of 12-year basic education exceeds the financial capacity to provide it. The Contingency Approach suggests that this can be alleviated by downsizing the requirement (Rondinelli, et al, 1990). The alternative open to the government is to choose a shortened compulsory education enforcement period of nine years during the economic crisis or until it has capacity's sufficient. At the same time, the state has to concentrate on expanding the lower secondary level and maintaining the increasing capacity of upper and vocational education. This may reduce by half the burden of the state to provide school facilities during the whole cycle of the twelve-year basic education. Thereby, reducing the heavy taxation and hardship for the people, as mentioned in the second alternative. If the state can firstly provide lower secondary education by 2005 as projected, the remaining part of the plan will be easier to tackle afterwards. Compulsory education enforcement will, however, need to be severe and intense during the period 1998-2005.

If an economic recovery permits the extension of compulsory education after the crisis period, and if the people, especially the poorer class, are prepared to bear heavier taxation, the government may then be in a position to expand the compulsory basic education period from nine to twelve years. This would be another prudent way to tackle the problem in an adaptive manner, suitable to environmental uncertainty, using the revised model of the Contingency Approach.

However, history shows that the first ever education reform, proclaimed in the first Constitution of 1932, could not be achieved as planned. This education reform was intended to educate at least fifty percent of all children in the age range 7-14 years, through six-year of compulsory primary, education which was to be introduced within ten years (1932-1942). Subsequently, however, the plan not only had to be reduced from six to four years, but also had to be completed ten years behind schedule, as has been referred to in chapter 1. The failure of education reform in the history of Thailand may not repeat itself if the proposed fourth alternative is adopted.

Comparing this fourth alternative with the second, the burden of the state is made significantly lighter, especially as the legal enforcement of basic education starts in 1999, when major mobilisation of funds begins to take place. This alternative seems to serve as a middle path among the other options, lying between the extremes. It is neither the postponement of the first, nor the do-or-die strategy of the second, nor the shift of responsibility of basic education into the hands of the private sector of the third.

However, it may be construed as a lack of confidence or loss of face on the part of the government if it is not able to fulfil the obligations and responsibility promulgated in the new Constitution in October 1997 (Thailand, 1997), which was supported by people from all walks of life. This criticism may be honourably avoided by declaring to the public before and during the election campaign that, in order to reduce the burden and the suffering of the people caused by heavy taxation, basic compulsory education will be shortened temporarily to nine years during the economic crisis. When it has the means, compulsory basic education will expand to twelve years as required by the Constitution.

In this way there will be no need to change the Constitution. However, this will require a transition clause in the Compulsory Education Act declaring that compulsory education will be only nine years long. After the transition period, if the capacity in terms of places and finance permits, twelve-year basic education will then be made fully compulsory as constitutionally prescribed. As it is projected the success could be as early as 2017.

If the fourth alternative is selected, the action plans urgently needed for this alternative are:

1) A transition clause, stating that the basic education period of twelve years will temporarily be reduced to only nine years. This has to be incorporated into a Compulsory Education Act which must be brought into force.

2) The following measures should be implemented. Two ad hoc working groups should be appointed by the Prime Minister as follows:
The first group will look into and recommend to the state where extra sources of funds within the country can be raised for educational purposes. The group should consist of a variety of people from relevant organisations, such as the Curricula and Technical Innovation Department who have an interest in, and a financial obligation towards, printing text books, the Bank of Thailand in order to facilitate the establishment of a commercial bank by the teachers' council, whose profits would be reserved for educational proposes, and the Revenue and Excise Department.

This ad hoc working group should be appointed to look into and to recommend to the government the following measures, as sources of funding to finance education reform, especially during the period of economic crisis:

2.1) income from banking businesses managed by a teachers' council

2.2) profit from the promotion of an educational lottery

2.3) income from alcohol and cigarette taxes

2.4) income from a text book copyright tax

2.5) income from an international travel tax on Thais

2.6) income from a 1% increase in VAT.

It should be chaired by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, with a further eight members comprising of one from each of the State Lottery Bureau, the Curricula and Technological Innovation department (concerning textbooks), the Bank of Thailand, the Teachers Council, the National Budget Bureau, the Revenue Department, the Excise Department and lastly the General Education Department which is directly responsible for the twelve-year basic education reform.

The main responsibility of this committee will be to locate sufficient sources of revenue from outside the national budget allocation to enable education reform to go ahead. This will pave the way for establishing a national educational reserve fund which must be kept separate from the national coffers. The reserve fund should accumulate every year and should only be used if and when the state fails to provide sufficient funding for the education reform out of the central national budget. It is particularly essential that the fund so raised should not impose additional hardships on the poor since this is the guiding idea behind the appointment of this group in the first place.

It has been noted in previous sections that the levying of taxation for this alternative ought to be less severe and intense than the second alternative. The main duty of the ad hoc working group should be to prioritise the order of taxation or collection of the above mentioned items so that the least onerous measure is introduced first and the most burdensome last, or not introduced at all.

The second group will explore and tap international financial assistance world wide, especially in negotiating bilateral loans and if possible agreeing to pay back, in kind by local products. The committee should be drawn from three distinct organisations:

a) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is familiar with the protocol and diplomacy needed for approaching and negotiating with international financial institutions or donor countries.

b) The state agencies which already have the expertise and experience for tapping foreign assistance.

c) The executive agencies which need specific financial and technical assistance for carrying out educational reform.

Not all the measures suggested need to be introduced; the group has to consider the likely pros and cons of the effect of adopting each item. It must also be noted that the taxes or fees to be levied or the profits to be collected should not be included in the central national budget. According to the research findings, private schools (85.14%) have suggested that the state should separate the funds for providing the 12-year basic education from the central national budget (Questionnaire, question no.6). This reserve fund should accumulate year by year and be used only when the state fails to provide sufficient financing for the twelve-year basic education programme.

The pooling of substantial expertise from these three different areas should enable the second working group to draw up proper and intelligent assistance programmes in a way that will attract international attention. The approach must be geared so that would-be donors or lenders see the sense and benefits to be gained for themselves as well as Thailand in participating in this programme. A sensitive and carefully thought out scheme must be formulated. Adroit diplomacy is necessary to convince and persuade potential aid partners that it is an exceptionally professional and worthwhile project which will not involve either party in unwanted obligations.

3) In order to assist the 20% of parents from the poorest class to supplement their income by training them to become capable of doing more productive or additional jobs on their farmlands or in the labour market, the district human resource development officers within the Provincial Labour Offices of the Labour Department should be recognised as the people most suitable for taking on this kind of responsibility. Within the next three years this should allow the majority of poorer parents to earn additional income so that they will be both content and in a position to send their children to school just like the offspring of more affluent families.

This thesis concerns the management of the Thai government's educational policy which aims to provide equal access for all to 12 years of free basic education. This vision has now become a challenge for Thailand and an important issue among other developing countries which hope to implement a similar expansion. If Thailand is able to achieve this educational reform, it will serve as an example for other developing countries to follow. The importance of the educational provision model lies in the fact that universal basic education requires huge long-term investment, particularly since the expansion is based upon a prevailing set-up which only provides a current six-year compulsory schooling system. For efficacious implementation Thailand needs to enlarge the contribution from the private sector especially, at secondary level. The prospects for the success of this policy seem to be questionable. This study has, therefore, investigated deeply into this area by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, aiming mainly for clarification of its requirements, capacity, feasibility and implementation, within the terms of the core concept of the Contingency Approach.

This study has illustrated that educational provision has been provided informally by different private institutions since the twelfth century. All education was voluntary until the Compulsory Primary Education Act was officially promulgated in 1921. It was an initiative of the King to compel the entire school age population to undertake four years of primary school as basic education; its aim was to educate people to be able to read and write the Thai language. Although the state attempted to provide universal free primary education, it was only implemented in big towns and areas which already had adequate school facilities, and even here the scheme was only partially successful.

The political reform brought about by a coup d'etat in 1932 imitated the British system of government and changed absolute monarchy into democracy with the king presiding over a constitutional monarchy. The first constitution of 1932 stipulated that at least fifty percent of the school age population had to complete six years of compulsory primary education by 1942. It was because the government considered six years of primary education was essential as a basis for supporting the new political system. However, in reality it was only allegedly compulsory education as the state was incapable of providing sufficient schooling capacity. In 1935 the duration of compulsory education was reduced to four years to lessen the burden on the state. It took more than half a century from 1921 to 1981 for the state to increase capacity including private schooling to provide six years of compulsory primary education. In 1980s, 70-79% enrolment of the entire school age population was achieved (Fredriksen, 1981). The delay in the expansion was caused not only by the slow increase in the capacity but also other factors.

It was discovered that "environmental uncertainty" in Thailand has affected educational reform plans. It was discovered that national educational policies have been strongly supported by the governments, but due to unreliability in political succession – frequent changes in the government and top leaders in MOE, MOIA and NEC – educational reform plans have been delayed or have only achieved partial success. This thesis has pointed out that the provision of compulsory primary education lagged far behind its proposed extension because of the political uncertainty rather than fluctuations in Thailand's economy. Educational management after the revolution in 1932 and until 1981 (49 years) was exercised by twenty-two different elected governments of which several were interim provisional military governments. Each was only in office for about 1-2 years. These short-term administrations strongly suggest that the educational policy making process lacked continuity. The state implementing agencies had to operate in a constantly changing environment. Educational reform and its implementation were, therefore, much less effective than might have been the case had a more stable and long lasting government existed in Thailand over this half century.

The political uncertainty from 1997 to 1999 has been perceived. Three different groups of elected government have managed the country, subsequently, three different ministers of education have been appointed. Inconsistency in the national managerial mechanism causes a delay in legitimacy and delivery of a compulsory 12-year basic educational act, the principle of which was adopted in October 1997, regarding the new Constitution of 1997.

It was found that financial support for educational provision is not affected by a national economic condition. This is because the actual size of the budgetary allocation could be made available by adjusting against other claims. This study has also indicated that during the last ten years between the 1985 and 1995 Thailand's economic growth rate averaged 7% per annum. Although GDP expansion ranged from 4.5-10.5% per annum, the size of the annual educational budgetary allocation was not influenced by these fluctuations. This came about because government related agencies consistently calculated annual educational costs and provided sufficient funding for schooling.

During the period of 1985 to 1995, the actual size of the educational budget allocation was, therefore, maintained at around 18% when set against the total national budget. Between 1985 and 1995 the average increase rate in educational budgetary allocation was worked out at 13.70%. However, from 1990 to 1995 the average increase rate is 19.31% of the size of educational budget. Furthermore, this thesis has addressed the fact that in 1997 the Thai economy started to decline and the downward trend may not yet have touched bottom. The Bank of Thailand predicted that it may only resume an upward trend after the year 2001. The financing of the 12-year basic educational reform could not be affected as the government of Thailand has conformed to the recovery programme set up by the World Bank. It suggested maintaining the level of the increase rate (13.70-19.31%) of the actual existing educational budget during the crisis. This is still intended and it is expected that finance for the 12-year basic educational programme will be supplied.

It has been argued that economic recovery may take a long period because in the short run domestic saving as a whole is not adequate for overcoming the economic crisis. The Thai economy depends mainly upon foreign investment in productive industries and upon creating future export products (NESDB, 1992). Economic improvement also relies on the extent of the severity of future trade barriers which may be imposed on Thailand by the European Community and the USA. It also depends on Thailand's competitiveness in relation to neighbouring countries such as China and Vietnam, especially in terms of cheap skilled labour.

This thesis has shown that between 1960 and 1999 Thailand has already had eight National Economic and Social Development Plans, starting in 1960. The National Educational Commission (NEC), as a national planning office, formulated all the national education development plans in accordance with the policies and guidelines set forth in these National Economic and Social Development Plans. Each educational plan drawn up was subsequently honoured and became a powerful guideline for the public and private sectors. Although the NEC has sole authority in national education planning, it has no authority to control, order or impose disciplinary measures upon the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior Affairs or other implementing agencies. The NEC is also the only co-ordinating organisation that directly and formally links together the two implementing agencies through their representation on the Board of the NEC, and through convening at additional ad hoc meetings for planning purposes with other agencies. The existing communication link is a top-down one from supervisors to subordinates.

It was discovered that at the national level, ad hoc working committees were key players in educational planning. Each plan was drawn up by boards comprising the Prime Minister as a chairman, existing and ex-officials, and experts from non-governmental organisations. The officials, who were serving as the insider view, had experience in previous educational policies and were familiar with the bureaucratic system, and may suggest some practical ideas. In turn, these could be too conservative. While the outsider view would be innovative but it could be

impractical. This was to brainstorm as many ideas from the group to find the most rational and manageable recommendations.

However, an external view from private schools is missing at this level. The free flow of communication, between the state and those across various school levels, is rather rare. This obstruction in obtaining the necessary up-to-date data leads to unsuitable and impracticable policies and plans for private schools. In order to bridge the gap between the state and private sector, a link between the bottom and the top planning level must be created. This study has suggested that it could be worth considering a larger decentralised management. It is recommended that what is called a National Association of Parents and Teachers should be established. To strengthen the horizontal control of the national education plan and to establish means of getting direct information from those at the bottom, it is strongly recommended that a representative from the new association be invited as a member in the Board of the NEC.

In contrast, since education has been the responsibility of the government and since governments have changed frequently, educational policy has been subject to chronic uncertainty. In reality, it was not necessarily implemented in full. It can be argued that previous educational provision over the three decades from the 1960s to the 1980s was neither adequate nor fast enough to prepare the Thai population for the impact of globalisation. Thus, the majority of the population (73% in 1991) has had only six years of primary education, while a new generation has only begun to undertake lower secondary education since 1997. Because of this low level of education, the older generation has been unable to develop their intellectual capacity and make considered judgements about their lives or about the educational needs of their children. For this reason some of these parents incorrectly considered lower secondary or higher educational level unnecessary for their children.

This stunting of the educational development of the poorer classes has not been helped by the attitudes of successive governments which have paid little heed to the problems of their poorest citizens. Their position has been that merely providing free primary education is enough – if the poor did not make use of these provisions then that was their own fault; the state had done its bit. Despite the fact that primary education has in theory been compulsory, the existing enforcement agencies have rarely pursued non-attenders or drop outs and do not seem to have taken this very real problem seriously. However, they should not be held solely responsible for this poor state of affairs because the previous basic primary education was grossly inadequate for coping with current developments in the modern world.

Due to the environmental uncertainty a twelve-year basic education programme is regarded as vital for the Thai population in as late as October 1997 (Thailand, 1997). Providing adequate schooling is largely the responsibility of the government as enshrined in the new constitution of 1997. When compulsory education is finally expanded from six to twelve years, there will need to be large-scale investment in providing new secondary school facilities in both general and vocational streams which will require an increased budget allocation.

It was found that public and private sectors are involved in the 12-year basic educational reform, while there is not strong support from other groups or organisations. The government may encourage greater private involvement by putting forward more attractive policies to interest new entrepreneurs. It must also find ways to encourage expansion among existing private schools. However, in the early years it seems certain that this situation will require much private, as well as government, participation and provision to make it viable. The research has confirmed that the role of private school participation is important for 12 years of basic education programme. There will be an initial need for the existing private schools to participate and it is they, not the newcomers, who will be expected to expand their facilities to cope with the excess demand for school facilities resulting from instigation of the compulsory basic education.

At primary level, according to the projection, the research found that private schooling may no longer increase. This is due to there being fewer primary school age population each year. The existing private and public primary schooling has covered this area so expansion is not necessary.

At lower secondary level there is a possibility for expanding, especially for the existing private primary schools to participate in gaining greater enrolment. This may be the way to compensate for the lower income created by the future decrease in enrolment at primary level. Since it is projected that educational provision at this level will be fully covered by both private and public sectors by 2005, and in 1994 there were 6,310 private and public schools throughout the country (MOE, 1994), it may not be a viable area in which for new entrepreneurs to invest.

At upper secondary level, where general upper secondary and vocational levels run parallel to each other, the projection states that in 1999 the proportion of schooling capacity to the entire upper secondary level school age population is worked out at 63.96% while vocational capacity is at 50%. This accounts for 1,433,000 students in the whole secondary school age population. In 1994 there are 1,517 upper secondary schools and 509 vocational schools throughout the country (MOE, 1994), indicating that there is room for both existing private schools and new entrepreneurs to participate.

However, this thesis has found that private schools may be reluctant to expand their school facilities to support the basic education programme because of ever changing governmental policies and the strict controls exerted by the OPEC. It was found that eight factors affect Private participation in a 12-year basic educational provision:

> 1) Overall controlling measures, formulated on the state schooling management basis, are impractical in private school management because some are too detailed, inflexible, inconsistent, and out dated. 2) Regulations on state lower secondary enrolment are changeable. They deprive the right of parents and pupils to choose schools in which they intend to study and they support donations for places. 3) A contradictory practice in pre-primary

enrolment, in relation to its principle at public primary schools, results in lower enrolment in private primary schools. 4) Broad policies for encouraging private participation and the rapid expansion in public schooling discourage existing private schools and new entrepreneurs from supporting the basic education. 5) Injustice in financial subsidising for pre and post 1974 private schools results in unfair enrolment competitions among private schools and leads to a decline in numbers. 6) Inadequate guidelines lead new entrepreneurs to non-profit businesses. 7) Misleading strategies, enforced by the state, place private schools in an inappropriate marketing position. 8) the state teacher recruitment policy results in a high turn over in private schools.

This suggests that the role of the OPEC needs to be revised and that more practical and clearer policies are required. However, in order to meet the state obligation to provide free basic education in compliance with the new constitution, public school facilities will be increased each year. This means that both general and vocational schooling must be made available with equal quality throughout the Kingdom. Less excessive demand for school facilities in post-primary education will gradually emerge in the long run. The state will reduce dependence on the private sector. The existing private schools are to be allowed to continue, although with stricter controls on the academic quality of these privately managed institutions. This may result in private schools tending to suffer because of progressively lower enrolment numbers. Under these circumstances, large sized or well known private schools may survive, but many small sized schools may become extinct in the near future. In addition, new private entrepreneurs may want to participate in this twelve-year basic education if state financial subsidies are made available. The private schools with less academic competitiveness in general and vocational education would then fade away[1], leaving only those with higher academic achievement levels or those which charge lower fees.

[1] This situation has occurred in the past during other occasions of educational reform when private participation was needed to alleviate strains upon the public sector primary system.

This thesis has attempted to illustrate how to put the theory of Contingency, in a modified form, into practice. It may be argued that this is a new departure in educational management theory, since subjective data in the original Contingency approach has been manipulated and transformed into discrete values. **It is consequently the first time that the total cost of a 12-year basic education for Thailand has been estimated.** Through the requirement, capacity and feasibility factors of the revised Contingency Approach, this thesis has discovered that the ability and the possibility of the government being able to cope with the aggregate demand of the entire school age population, in the 12-year basic education reform until the year 2001 (NESDB, 1992) is too ambitious. There is a need for a more considered and coherent approach to educational policy than that, which at present, informs the reform plans and schedules.

This thesis has adopted a theoretical managerial concept of the Contingency Approach which contains five managerial perspectives, namely; formal, democratic, political, subjective and ambiguous. The five perspectives have been utilised as guidelines in terms of understanding the educational delivery system, which helps to formulate the model for a 12-year educational provision, as follows:

1) Formal management concerns the traditional model and organisational structures of the implementing agencies and state departments. Their prerogative power is located in the enactment of the national educational laws and regulations, and in state control over the growth of private participation in education. The argument of this thesis is a recommendation for the appointment of the National Education Commission to supervise all the operations of the implementing agencies and departments concerned with the 12-year basic education reform. This is required in the application of the typical formal management approach.

2) Under a concept of democratic or consensual management there is a proposed recommendation for the establishment of what is called a national association of parents and teachers, with branches in each province. This aims to bridge the gap between national and local administrative educational management systems. In other words to create a flow of communications from the bottom to the top in order to assist the NEC in the formulation of a consensual educational action plan. The notion of two proposed ad hoc working groups, drawn from experts in the relevant departments for the purpose of raising educational funds inside and outside the country, is also one of the strategies adapted from the concept of democratic management.

3) Regarding the political perspective, which is viewed as a process of negotiations, compromise and bargaining, the government are called upon to upgrade 20% of the poorest section of the population, through non-formal education and short term professional training. Mainly to give them additional income so that they can release their children to participate in the 12-year basic education programme.

4) The subjective perspective concerns the classic example of state policy regarding the encouragement of private participation in the 12-year basic education. The argument of this thesis is that the role of private participation would be decreased if the educational implementing agencies or the MOE and the MOIA took full control or responsibility for the entire schooling system.

5) The perspective of ambiguity has to be seen in terms of the elements of unpredictability which have characterised educational reform during Thailand's financial crisis and economic downturn, which began in the middle of 1997.

With the synthesis of these five perspectives into one, the holistic effect of the Contingency Approach has suggested the need for adaptive strategies in order to deal with unpredictable changes arising out of the environmental uncertainty. With the revised form of the Contingency Approach, conceptual data has been transformed

into discrete values for the use in the first three phases of the Contingency Approach. It has been shown that the Contingency Approach and its adaptive strategies are suitable for Thailand's environmental uncertainty. The approach should, therefore, be an acceptable instrument for policy planners and implementers to analyse situations and pose realistic options for successful implementation, mainly for Thailand. It could be used as an example for other developing countries wishing to expand their basic education provision.

It has been argued that this revised Contingency Approach can provide this coherence. It has been shown that the transformation of compulsory primary education lasting six years into a universal 12-year basic education by 2001 is in fact an overly optimistic piece of planning. This is because the overall requirements are greater than the existing capacity. This research has found that the ability of the Thai government to provide a comprehensive basic education is impossible without private participation in the short run. In terms of places, the capacity for providing primary education is adequate, but at lower and upper secondary levels it is not possible to provide for the entire school age population by the targeted year of 2001.

However according to the projection it would be feasible to achieve that a lower and upper secondary educational provision could be achieved by 2005 if private participation was involved and if the government maintains its present rate of capacity. The provision of vocational education will still not be possible by 2005, because there are even less adequate school facilities at this level. This suggests that the government will have to encourage yet more private participation at this level or else invest very heavily itself indeed. Based on the aggregate capacity of both public and private sectors, the projection in this thesis suggests that there is a possibility of providing school facilities for the whole school age population by 2011. This means that until the year 2011 some students in secondary level will still have to pay tuition fees. However, state budget finance may not be simultaneously available to provide free compulsory 12-year basic education programme for all by 2011; indeed the projection in this thesis suggests that this will only become a reality as late as the year 2017.

This research suggests that there are four alternatives for the government to enable it to provide a universal 12-year educational system. Four possible alternative plans have been recommended for further discussion depending on the government. Each has its pros and cons.

The first alternative may be necessary if the national economy does not recover in a short run. It allows the government to allocate more of the budget to development projects necessary to aid economic recovery. In this alternative the government does not have to create more loans to finance educational provision and Thais do not have to take higher VAT and taxes in various forms to be introduced. However, universal basic education would have to be delayed.

The second alternative may be suitable if the government were to give full priority in line with the OECD's international development targets - for delivering the basic education by the year 2015. This alternative requires mobilising both domestic and international resources to finance education. Raising taxes and taking loans are needed but more pressure will be put on Thai people.

The third strategy might be possible as it contains many good aspects. Educational provision may be achieved if it is fully supported by both public and private sectors. However, it may not be possible for the private sector to expand in all levels especially during the crisis. State financial subsidies should be provided to new private entrepreneurs and existing private schools. It does require state measures to be introduced, which are time-consuming in processing to process.

Regarding the net effect of the advantages and disadvantages of each of these three alternatives, it may better suit the government to select the fourth alternative for education reform. Shortening the compulsory education period from twelve to nine years is the fourth alternative. Its advantage is of reducing the additional compulsory period by three years. This means extending compulsory education to children only in the age range of 6-14 years old instead of encompassing all children up to the age of 18 in one go.

A prudent way to tackle the problem seems to be through the application of adaptive management, as contained in the Contingency approach. With this approach educational reform would be launched as planned and, if the future economic situation permits, the full target of twelve years could be extended. There would be less chance of failure in this scenario since the IMF loan should stimulate economic growth by 2001. However, if the economy does not recover as predicted, the fourth alternative is still the best strategy to adopt since it allows for the essentially unpredictable factors of economic conditions within its adaptive structure.

As regards the administrative machinery for the implementation of twelve-year basic education, the National Education Commission is the sole authority for national education planning with the two main implementing agencies being the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior Affairs. The MOE is assisted by the Office of the National Primary Education Commission, the General Education Department, the Vocational Education Department and the Office of the Private Education Commission. Whereas the MOIA is assisted by the Office of Bangkok and Pataya City and by the provincial governors. The existing set-up has a history of co-operation and harmonious working to co-ordinate and carry out tasks entrusted to them. This is also in line with the established policy of previous governments which decentralised local government at the district level on the basis of a principle of municipal self-government throughout Thailand.

The provision of twelve years of basic education programme falls mainly within the current functions of the two implementing agencies, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior Affairs. The departmental agencies in these two ministries have clear authority and jurisdiction over their administration and management, especially with regard to the division of responsibility for financing the provision and administration of schooling. This is divided between the local municipal governments in the provinces on the one hand, and on the other the offices of the National Primary Education Commission, which has to work closely with the Department of General Education, which controls lower and upper secondary education.

The current division of responsibility between the two implementing agencies should be responsive to the needs of education reform, while the existing staff in each agency is already sufficient in numbers and capable of undertaking the additional workload. It is, therefore, to be expected that the present organisations and agencies will be in a position to carry out the additional tasks of the new educational reform plan since they fall under their direct responsibility and jurisdiction. There should be very little difficulty or opposition from the staff in assuming this additional responsibility. Additionally, there will be no need to increase the number of staff nor to establish new offices in the existing educational administrative set-up when the twelve-year basic education plan becomes compulsory. Finally the Teacher Training Department (presently known as Rajapat Institutions) is capable of producing the numbers of teachers required during the education reform. It is in a position to improve the quality of teachers and to conform to the new curricula being improved upon by the Curricula and Education Innovation Department in order to meet the demands and changes engendered by globalisation.

Finally, the outcome of this thesis is the production of a model for a 12-year basic educational provision to serve as an alternative action plan for the Thai government. With the enforcement of basic education, all Thai children will benefit from free education. However, it has been noted that the poorer classes of the population, especially the poorest 20 % of the whole population, are still likely to be reluctant to enrol their children in secondary schooling, preferring to send them out to work to supplement the family income. This is significant since many sorts of social problems stem from the children of the poorest segment of the population, problems such as drug addiction, child labour abuse and child prostitution.

To tackle these social problems and to eradicate poverty in society, the education of children from the poorer classes should be one of the main targets of the reform. Without an improvement in the percentage of children from the poorest class entering secondary schooling, the success of the reform plan cannot be guaranteed. It is, therefore, essential that addressing the problems of the poorest part of the population should be given priority and tackled sincerely. This thesis suggests that

the introduction of what is so called a National Compulsory Basic Education Act is needed. It is vital that relevant supporting laws be enacted urgently to comply with the requirements and proclamations of the new constitution of 1997. This is to ensure the entire school age population, as beneficiaries of schooling, attend a universal 12-year basic education programme.

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Appendix I: Five International Conventions adopted and enforced by the General Assembly of the United Nations dealing wholly or in part with education in order of the dates of adoption since 1960 as follows:

1. *Convention against Discrimination in Education* entered into force on 22 May 1962, and had been ratified by 81 states as of 31 March 1993. The convention requires that "foreign nationals should be granted the same access to education as that given to the nationals of the country concerned" (UN, 1960).

2. *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* entered into force on 4 January 1969, and had been ratified by 134 states as of 31 March 1993. Article 5 of the convention requires that:

> member states, in compliance with [their] fundamental obligations, [shall] undertake continuously measures to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms, and to guarantee the rights of everyone, without distinction as to race, colour or nationality, to equality before the law, notably in the enjoyment of the right to education (UN, 1966a).

3. *International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* entered into force on 3 January 1976, and had been ratified by 119 states as of 31 March 1993. This convention reaffirms that member states should provide compulsory primary education free to all children and should make secondary education available and accessible to all by whatever appropriate means, in particular by the progressive introduction of free education. Member states are encouraged to expand fundamental education as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed their primary education, to develop actively a system of schools at all levels, to establish adequate fellowship systems and to improve the material conditions of teachers (UN, 1966b).

The member states who have signed up to the present covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, where applicable of legal guardians to choose their children's schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State.

Article 14 of the convention states that:

> each State Party to the present Covenant which, a the time of becoming a party, has not been able to secure in its metropolitan territory of other territories under its jurisdiction compulsory primary education, free of charge, undertakes, within two years, to work out and adopt a details plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the principle of compulsory education free of charge for all (UN, 1966b).

4. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* entered into force on 3 September 1981, and had been ratified by 121 states as of 31 March 1993. The convention urges member states to take appropriate measure to improve the situations of poverty among women who have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment.

The Convention called on member states to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure them equality on a basis of equal rights with men in education (UN, 1979). Member states should guarantee a) the same opportunities for access to programs of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programs, and in particular those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women; and b) the same rights to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights.

Article 10 of the Convention recommended that:

> State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women: a) the same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; the equality shall be ensured in preschool, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training; b) access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality; c) the elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods; d) the same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants; ...(UN, 1979).

Furthermore, member states were to take all appropriate measures to ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and to promote the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the overriding consideration in all cases (UN, 1979).

5. *Convention on the Rights of the Child entered* into force on 2 September 1990, and had been ratified by 121 state as of 31 March 1993. It called for improvement of the situation of children all over the world, for their development; and for education in conditions of peace and security. The convention reaffirmed that members states should take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect children from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, and maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person (UN, 1989).

Article 28 of the *Convention* states that members states shall

> a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all; b) encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; c) make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; d) make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; e) take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop out rates (UN, 1989).

Appendix II: Six Regional meetings of Ministers of Education of Asia and the Pacific convened by UNESCO

1. MINEDAS I - 1962 (The First Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States: The Karachi Plan and the Tokyo Regional Conference)

The Karachi Plan entitled "The Needs of Asia in Primary Education, 1961, was an attempt to draw up a region-wide plan for compulsory primary education. This was followed by the First Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States (MINEDAS 1)" in Tokyo, 1962 (UNESCO, 1962). Ministers of Education of the Asian member states adopted the Karachi Plan. It recommended that every country of this region should provide a system of universal compulsory and free primary education within a period of twenty years (1960-1980). This meeting requested UNESCO to provide them with educational planning experts to assist member states in the planning of national education projects and developments. Additionally, in order to oversee the materialisation of this plan, UNESCO established a regional organisation structure comprising a regional office for education in Bangkok and three regional centres in New Delhi, Manila and Colombo (UNESCO, 1962).

2. MINEDAS II - 1965 (The Second Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States: Bangkok Regional Conference)

This regional conference in Bangkok in 1965 shaped the Asian Model of Education Development 1965-1980; It was an extension of the Karachi Plan which comprised:

(i) The visualisation, in quantitative terms, of the prospective of educational development in Asia until 1980

(ii) The illustration of the interrelationship of some of the main factors involved in educational development

(iii)The significant implications for educational development, especially the national economic factor.

This meeting encouraged the educational development plan to develop in an integrated manner both quantitatively and qualitatively. It also retained the Karachi Plan target of full enrolment by 1980 subject to the viability of the economy of each member-states. The topic of inequality in educational opportunities, especially education for girls and women, was also considered (UNESCO, 1965).

3. MINEDAS III - 1971 (The Third Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States: The Singapore Regional Conference)

This was the first time that there was a review of a wider range of the trends and directions of educational development in the region. It gave a definition of "universalisation of education" as access to education at the lowest level by both formal and non-formal means (UNESCO, 1971).

"Universalisation of Primary Education" (UPE) was accorded high priority with a focus on three main elements, namely; extension of educational opportunities for all children, with special emphasis on girls' education as well as educational opportunities for deprived and disadvantaged population groups; secondly, retention of children in learning situations so that they were able to achieve essential learning gains; and thirdly, raising the efficiency of learning systems (UNESCO, 1971).

This meeting also provided UNESCO with the proper means to promote an international networking of national programmes centres as the principal medium of regional co-operation for sharing experience and expertise. The meeting approved a new programme of regional co-operation called "The Asia and the Pacific Programme of Education on Innovation for Development (APPEID)" as recommended by UNESCO.

This programme was a co-operative effort of member states sharing a common outlook towards education linked to development. It was designed to create a technical co-operation amongst development countries in partnership with the developed countries of the region and international bodies having similar objectives. It was based on the participating Member States' national goals and their commitments to the development of education related to these goals, in the context of their particular political, social and economic systems (UNESCO, 1971).

APEID was later developed for a five year programming cycle using selected priority programme areas as follows:
The first programming cycle 1974-1977, for instance, included six programme areas identified for regional co-operative action in educational innovation (UNESCO, 1971):

1. *New orientations and structures in education* With the growing awareness of inadequacy in the traditional forms of education, a number of member states have initiated experiments which were intended to develop alternative structures and non-formal education models.

2. *Management of educational innovation* The objective of this programme area was to contribute to the strengthening of national capacities for developing and implementing programmes of educational innovation.

3. *Qualitative change in curriculum development* dealt with the output of educational systems stemming from changes to the final analysis from a change in the teaching/learning process, where the curriculum is the key factor. Curriculum change and innovation was seen as an energising agent in education which was related to development.

4. *Educational technology:* this grew quite rapidly in many countries of the region, both in the form of specific technologies such as educational radio or television, and in the form of application of systematic knowledge to the practical problems of education.

5. *New structures and methods in teacher training.* The main thrust of this programme area was on new structures and methods in teacher training, which were related to national developmental goals and basic functional education.

6. *Science education.* In the broad field of curriculum and instruction, science education has been of important concern to almost all the member states in Asia.

The second cycle, 1978-1981, concentrated upon the same areas as those which guided the first one. *The third cycle,* 1982-1986 was characterised by the regional consultation process, an important framework for the reviews given in UNESCO's Second Medium-Term Plan, 1984-1989, as approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its Fourth Extraordinary Session, 1982 (UNESCO, 1971).

4. MINEDASO IV-1978 (The Fourth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and Oceania: The Colombo Conference)

There were some changes in the composition of the regional membership between 1971and 1978, as the countries in the Pacific area became members, and consequently it changed its title to Asia and Oceania. Thus the name of the conference became MINEDASO. Later the reference to "Oceania" was changed to "the Pacific" and the conference acronym MINEDAP has since been used ever since. In addition, the number of countries which were Member States of UNESCO had increased, and for the first time the representation at the conference covered all the nations of Asia (UNESCO, 1978).

The conference addressed what it perceived to be the major issues of educational policies for the decade of the 1980s. Almost all earlier conferences had referred to educational inequalities, and MINEDASO IV articulated this theme as a priority for action in order to achieve equal access to education for sectors in the population. Similarly the linkage of education reform policies and plans with cultural, economic and social aspects was stressed and reaffirmed, thus going beyond the earlier almost exclusive preoccupation with economic aspects (UNESCO, 1978).

5. MINEDAP V - 1985 (The Fifth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific: The Bangkok Regional Conference)

MINEDAP V, was organised in 1985 by UNESCO with the assistance of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, meeting in Bangkok from 4-11 March, 1985 at the generous invitation of the government of the Thailand and solemnly adopted the following significant declaration:

The Universalisation of Primary Education (UPE) has already been, or is about to be achieved in many countries of the region, and can and should become a reality for all the countries in the next five years (which means 1990); and should combine with an improvement in retention rates and a reduction in drop-outs. The conference proclaims its full commitment to the pursuit of efforts undertaken towards the development of education, and supports the member states of the region who are committed to the principle of *Education for All* (UNESCO, 1985).

This regional conference set great store by regional co-operation under UNESCO's auspices, this being an integral part of the international co-operation which it is UNESCO's task to promote in discharging the mission assigned to it by its constitution and which is imperative in view of the global scope and scale of the major problems of mankind.

6. MINEDAP VI, - 1993 (The Sixth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific: The Kuala Lumpur Conference)

This was organised by UNESCO and ESCAP in Malaysia where 141 delegates from the governments of 33 member countries participated (UNESCO 1993b). Overall it stressed the significance of values, ethics and culture in education, and the importance of female education. In particular, concerning education for all, it urged a commitment to the World Conference on Education for All, 1990.

It recommended that countries achieving universal primary education should expand secondary education including technical and vocational study, as part of basic education, and suggested increasing educational budgets. It was realised that although the cost of vocational education is higher than other levels, it is a necessary step due to the high demand on the labour market and the changing nature of technology. Countries continuing to construct primary education for all should reach this target by 2000, and should increase the opportunity for access to female education (UNESCO, 1993b)

Appendix III: Three world conferences, declarations on education, human rights and democracy

1. The World Summit for Children (1990) was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, attended by representatives from 152 countries. 100 countries had finalised their National Programmes of Action (NPA) to implement the World Summit goals as of February 1995. The convention adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations states that:

> The provision of basic education and literacy for all are among the most important contributions that can be made to the development of the world's children. The member states will work for programmes that reduce illiteracy and provide educational opportunities for all children, irrespective of their background and gender; that prepare children for productive employment and lifelong learning opportunities (World Summit for Children, 1990).

2. *The World Conference on Education for All (1990) and the Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs* (1990) were adopted by the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien and led to reforms and innovations in the education systems in Asia and the Pacific. The World Declaration proposed an expanded vision of basic education for all children through formal and non-formal schooling. Article 7 of the convention stated:

> national, regional and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organisational requirement for this task. New and revitalised partnerships at all levels will be necessary: partnerships among all sub-sectors and forms of education, recognising the special role of teachers and that of administrators and other educational personnel; partnerships between government and non-governmental departments, the private sector, local communities, religious groups and families...(WCEFA, 1990a).

Since this conference UNESCO has provided support for organising national conferences and seminars to disseminate the World Declaration on Education for All and to prepare an action plan to follow up the Jomtien Conference commitment.

3. *The World Conference on Human Rights: Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action* (1993) proclaimed that member states have a duty to promote and protect human rights, in particular in education, health and social support for their populations.

This conference emphasised the importance of incorporating the subject of human rights into education and that education should promote understanding, tolerance, peace and friendly relations among the nations and among all racial or religious groups (World Conference on Human Rights, 1993). Both the theoretical and the practical play an important role in the promotion and respect of human rights with regard to all individuals and without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion. The Conference urged all nations to undertake to achieve the goals in the *World Summit Plan of Action*, and to integrate *the Convention on the Rights of the Child* into their national action plans (World Conference on Human Rights, 1993). By means of these national action plans and through international efforts, priority should be placed on reducing infant and maternal mortality rates, reducing malnutrition and illiteracy rates and providing access to safe drinking water and to *basic education*. When so ever called for, national plans of action should be devised to combat those devastating emergencies resulting from natural disasters or armed conflicts and the equally grave problem of children in extreme poverty.

Appendix IV: The present national scheme of education

At the present the Thai education system conforms to the scope of the *National Scheme of Education, 1992.* This is based on four fundamental principles as follows:

1. The flourishing of individual wisdom, thinking, mind and morality is an essential goal in achieving a balance between spiritual cultivation on the one hand and material and economic growth on the other.
2. Being a part of nature and having a necessity to coexist in harmony with nature, human beings must realise the importance of judicious utilisation and conservation of natural resources without causing detrimental effects to the environment.
3. Concurrent with striving to keep up with modern technological progress and the adoption of foreign and exogenous culture it is vital to establish an understanding and appreciation of local knowledge and the culture of Thai society in order to optimise the use of modern knowledge relevant to the local context and needs.
4. The proper balance between dependency and self-reliance is an essential basis for co-operation at individual, community and national levels for the promotion of sustainable development, which will help enhance the prominence of Thailand in the world community.

(NEC, 1992a: 1-3).

Goals

The goals of education (NEC, 1992a: 4-5).emphasise as the following:

1. ***Wisdom***: An educated person should attain wisdom; this includes the ability to understand causality; to differentiate between virtue and vice, right and wrong, and good and malicious deeds on the basis of truth; to solve problems intelligently; to recognise and understand rapid and varied changes; to be creative and possess an inquiring mind, and to keep up with technological progress; to appreciate Thai wisdom and culture; and to choose wisely the aspects of modern knowledge and exogenous culture for adoption by Thai society.

2. ***Spiritual development***: An educated person should be able to train his or her mind to become morally developed; to be conscious of wrong-doing; to be self-controlled and self-disciplined in his or her behaviour in accordance with a moral code of conduct; to uphold religious principles; to be modest and moderate; to possess concentration and perseverance which are essential for working and living.

3. ***Physical development***: An educated person should possess a healthy physique appropriate to his age, be able to ensure his own good health and that of his family, and be able to develop his physical capacity in a way that is suitable for work and occupational practices.

4. ***Social development***: An educated person should adopt proper social behaviour at work and in the family, and extend help unselfishly to others; possess communication skills and ability; be able to use proper Thai and foreign languages for communication purposes to preserve the Thai national identity and culture; recognise and observe duties and responsibilities towards others, society and mankind; seek to create a peaceful society; recognise and observe his own and others' rights and freedom under the democratic form of government with the King as Head of State; be able to utilise and conserve natural resources and to create a proper environment; and contribute to enhancing an appropriate role for the nation in the world community.

Appendix V: Questionnaire

A questionnaire to be sent by sampling to private school operators throughout Thailand (to be translated into Thai later on)

1. Status of the school (can select more than one item)

1.1. Size of school:
[ ] small: having less than 300 pupils
[ ] medium: between 300-500 pupils
[ ] large: more than 500 pupils

1.2 Educational level:
[ ] Pre-primary
[ ] Primary
[ ] Lower-secondary
[ ] Upper-secondary
[ ] Vocational study

1.3 Ownership:
[ ] Privately owned
[ ] Leased
[ ] Foundation owned
[ ] Church owned
[ ] Private company owned

1.4 Managed by:
[ ] School owner
[ ] Manager, head teacher
[ ] Foundation
[ ] Company, holding-company
[ ] Committee

1.5 Government financial subsidy:
[ ] Yes
[ ] No (without subsidy)

1.6 Total number classrooms .....
Number of classrooms in use .....
Number of empty classrooms (no pupils) .....

1.7 Future expansion to supply 12-year basic education
[ ] Yes
[ ] No

1.8 For subsidised schools, is the school capable of expanding classrooms for the basic education?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

1.9 For non-subsidised schools, if the state does not subsidise your school, is the school capable of expanding classrooms for the basic education?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

1.10 For non-subsidised schools, if the state were to subsidise your school, is the school capable of expanding classrooms for the basic education?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

2. Finance

2.1 Profit/ Loss: If all operating cost such as teacher salaries are paid, your school will have

[ ] Adequate finance to develop the school
[ ] Adequate finance for the operating cost
[ ] Inadequate finance for the operating cost

2.2 Sources of major incomes:

[ ] Donation
[ ] Selling lunch to schoolchildren
[ ] Extra curriculum, activities
[ ] Leasing space for school shops
[ ] Selling learning materials
[ ] Other (please specify) .....

2.3 Bad debt per annum ..... %

3. Priority Problems

[ ] Competition with state schools
[ ] Competition with private schools
[ ] Low quality of school applicants
[ ] Low quality of teachers in major subjects (English, maths, science)
[ ] Problems in teaching methods imposed by the MOE curriculum
[ ] Bad debt
[ ] Non-payment of fees over a long period
[ ] Others (please specify) .....

4. Suggestions:

4.1 State should provide financial subsidy for all private schools. [ ] Yes
4.2 Private teachers should gain the same benefit from pension fund as state teachers. [ ] Yes
4.3 State should enrol and recruit teachers them to private schools. [ ] Yes
4.4 Private schools should be able to access through the Internet and satellite educational programme provided by the state agencies. [ ] Yes
4.5 Others ..... [ ] Yes

5. Tax exemption:

School property and land tax [ ] Yes
Teachers' income tax [ ] Yes
School vehicle tax [ ] Yes
All school incomes associated with school activities [ ] Yes
Others [ ] Yes

6. Other external sources of income for a 12-year basic education:

The state should create extra funds for providing the basic education
[ ] Yes [ ] No
If yes, the sources of the funds should come from
Banking business managed by a teacher's council [ ] Yes
Educational lottery [ ] Yes
Alcohol and cigarette taxes [ ] Yes
Textbook copyright tax [ ] Yes
International travell tax on Thais [ ] Yes
Adding 1% to VAT [ ] Yes
Local and international donations [ ] Yes
Others..... [ ] Yes

First Interim Progress Report

Bangkok

between August and October 1996

First week

- Replanning of the itinerary programme of field research by actually contacting the persons or their deputies or Personal Secretaries for appointments for interviews/ discussions/participant observations. It required the complete adjustment of the detailed schedule which had been planned at Edinburgh which had consisted of one-way planning without consulting the corresponding respondents. The whole week therefore had to be spent arranging time schedules to suit the respondents.

Second week

- Translation into the Thai language of the questionnaire to be sent to the selected private schools by random selection throughout the country.
- Contact with the Planning Division in the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) for the addresses of all the private schools at primary, secondary and vocational education levels so that the private schools to be selected by random sampling could be approached for the execution of the questionnaire. Also during this contact with Planning Division, discussions / interviews/ participant observations were made with the Director and relevant officials in charge of planning to ascertain their sources of facts and figures as well as their derivatives and hypotheses.
- An introductory letter was obtained from the Planning Division in the the OPEC to introduce the researcher to the private schools for co-operation in the execution of the questionnaire to be sent to them.

Third week

- Selecting the addresses of these selected private schools from the OPEC
- Choosing the relevant private schools which provided formal education from the whole list.
- Addressing and sending the questionnaires to these private schools.

Fourth week

- Interview/discussion with Dr. Savitree, the Deputy Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, to get her opinion about the policy of extending compulsory education. The role of private participation, policy formulation and the existing education set-up as well as the style of management were also discussed.
- Planning Division, Ministry of Education Relevant documents and statistical reports were obtained. Observation of the management approach was also made.
- It was confirmed from this Planning Division that Compulsory Education will expand to twelve years to include vocational education in the immediate future after the nine year compulsory education has come into force.

Fifth week

- Interviewing the Secretary General of the Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC) to discuss his views on the education policy formulation and implementation of the country. The mechanism of education policy formulation of the country was also discussed.
- Interviews/discussions/observations were also made with the relevant officials of the Bureau of Educational Policy Development and Planning for Educational Management, the NEC, and the Educational Information Centre, NEC. Relevant documents were received.
- It was confirmed by the NEC that, if the education policy is upheld by one government, the same policy will be carried out by other new governments. There may be differences in the processes and methods but not in the direction.

Sixth week

- Detailed explanation of the mechanisms of education policy formulation by the Director and staff of the Bureau of Educational Policy Development and Planning for Educational Management, NEC.

Seventh week

- Interviewing the Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Office of Prime Minister concerning education policy planning and its processes of implementation, especially the compulsory element.
- Discussion was centred on the topic of policy changing if a new government is formed and the level of political uncertainty disturbing education policy.
- The role of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) and its influence on national education policy formulation was sought in the Office of NESDB by interviewing the Assistant Secretary General of the NESDB.
- Some relevant documents such as the draft of the eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan 1997-2001 were received.

Eighth week

- Follow up to the questionnaires by reminding those who have not yet responded. A second set of the questionnaire was sent to these non-respondents.
  It was noted that all questionnaires were subject to delay because all private schools were busy preparing their mid-year examinations in September.

Ninth week

- Visiting the Office of Private Education Commission (OPEC) and seeking relevant documents.
- Interviewing the Secretary General of the OPEC concerning the future role of private participation, the assistance to be extended to the private sector and the development of the Private School Act.

Tenth week

- The whole week was spent visiting to the National Budget Bureau of the Ministry of Finance to ascertain their views and the criteria used in providing fund for education, especially in regard to state subsidies to private schools. Discussions with the Director of the Education Budget Analysis Office and the Senior Budget Analysts were centred on the topic of financial support and the methods of calculating public spending in education.

Eleventh week

- Visit to the Office of the National Statistical Bureau to learn how they derive figures for the number of school attendees and school age population at different levels of education, especially the compulsory level in future years.

Twelfth week

- Checking with non-respondents to the questionnaires. Reminders together with the copy of questionnaires, were sent out to non-respondents.

Second Progress Report

Bangkok

between November 1996 and February 1997

Places/Activities during the month of November 1996

1. Planning Division/ Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) in the Ministry of Education

- Discussions of private participation and its proper role
- Seeing the process of planning and the sources of data analysis, especially the gross enrolment ratio of school children.
- The budgetary procedure
- The control of private schools, especially annual school fees.

2. General Education Division of the OPEC in the Ministry of Education

- Duty and responsibility and its span of control of private schools
- Interviews and discussion with officials on matters of the extending of basic education to twelve years, control and promotion general education provision
- The criteria used to establish the annual school fees of private schools

3. Vocational Education Division of the OPEC

- Duty and responsibility
- Co-ordination with the Vocational Education Department/Ministry of Education
- The control and regulation of private vocational schools
- The problem of private participation in vocational education
- The criteria for controlling private vocational school fees
- The types of vocational education schools and their curricula
- The future role of private participation in vocational education

4. Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) in the Ministry of Education
    - The administration of primary education schools in rural areas
    - Non-formal and formal education in Thailand
    - The duty and responsibility of the ONPEC in relation to the Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education
    - Measures to ensure sufficient provision of school facilities for compulsory primary education and the 12-year basic education
    - The sources of finance and budgetary procedures
    - The method and criteria used to assess the enrolment ratio

5. Follow up of the questionnaires and analyses

Places/Activities between the months of December 1996 and January 1997

The two months of December 1996 and January 1997 were full of social activities and season's greetings in the country, especially with the whole country celebrating the King's Birthday and the 50th anniversary of his reign. There were only about five working days over the period. Appointments for data collection could not be made.

During this period assessment of material from earlier data collection was made possible and a preliminary analysis of documents and important issues derived from interviews were summarised.

Places/Activities during the month of February 1997

Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education

- To search for data through interviews and discussions concerning the administration of secondary schools owned and run by the Department
- A visit to the Thepsirin Romklao state secondary school (lower and upper secondary levels) owned and run by the Department of General education in the Ministry of Education
- Responsibility and problems involved in the future extension of compulsory schooling from primary to secondary level
- Criteria for and projection of, the number of secondary school children in future years
- Statistics about the ratios of vocational education and general education
- Budgetary resources to finance education under the department's jurisdiction
- Problems of co-ordination with OPEC/ONPEC/Vocational Education Department/ Bangkok Metropolitan Administration
- Donations from parents of secondary education students as a means of assisting secondary schools to procure teaching aids

Third Progress Report

between March and May 1977

and

the time frame for the activities of the research fieldwork in Bangkok

(June-September 1997)

Places/Activities during the month of March 1997

1. Department of Vocational Education
    - Visit to the Office of the Director General
    - Interviews with senior officials of the Planning Division of this department
    - Data collection on the numbers of vocational education students in past and present years
    - Discussions about private participation and its proper role
    - Co-ordination with the General Education Department and the ONPEC
    - Supply of school facilities in future when compulsory education is extended to 12 years including the vocational education level
    - Number of vocational schools under the ownership and administration of the Department
    - The present problems in providing sufficient school facilities

2. Second Progress Report to the University

3. The Curricula and Innovation Department/ Ministry of Education

- Interview and discussions with the Director General of the Curricula and Innovation Department (Dr Amrung Chantavanich)
- Gathering data concerning the improvement of quality in primary and secondary education in terms of curricula and technical advancement
- Visiting to the Office of Curricula and Innovation reporting to the Curricula and Innovation Department/Ministry of Education concerning the planning and development of curricula for the compulsory education extension to 12 years.
- Visiting to the Planning Division of the Curricula and Innovation Department to see the planning and preparation for the future extension of compulsory education throughout the country

Places/Activities during the month of April 1997

1. Office of Central Education of Provincial Districts in the Ministry of Interior Affairs

- Data collection concerning the administration of primary education schools in rural areas
- Co-ordination with the Ministry of Education and the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration
- Advantages / disadvantages of organisation separate from the ONPEC, the OPEC and Department of General Education

2. Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA)
    - Visiting to the Office of Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) to collect data on primary education under its jurisdiction
    - Visiting to the Central Administration Office of Education/BMA

3. Visit a sampled District Office at Pravej to search for data concerning the administration of local primary schools under the jurisdiction of Pravej district area

4. Visit to a temple school of primary education in the Pravej area
    - Co-ordination with the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and other government agencies

Places/Activities during the month of May 1997

Visits to International Organisations to interview and discuss the views of international resource offices in education to see their views and to collect first hand data on tackling the problem of providing compulsory school facilities in developing countries, especially regarding the extension of compulsory education in Thailand to 12 years (including vocational education).

The offices of UNESCO, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank were visited. Interviews and discussion were conducted with relevant officials who were helpful in giving a picture of the problems and solutions of universal primary education in developing countries. Discussions were centred on the expanded vision of basic education for lifelong learning and the international 'watchdog' needed for continuing consultation and co-operation to keep basic education high on the political agenda and to promote action by governments and their agencies. The topic of discussions also included the Amman meeting in Jordan, 16 to 19 June 1996, the third meeting of the EFA Forum and the results of the Mid-Decade Review launched two years earlier to assess how the international community is living up to its commitment to provide basic education to all.

- Discussion with Mr Balvinder Humpal, Attaché (Culture and Education), Embassy of India, Bangkok concerning the problems of sufficient provision of universal primary education and the budgetary resources for education in India.

Time frame for future activities in research field work in Bangkok

(June-September 1997)

At this stage the research fieldwork programme has been completed. It requires not only the classification and grouping of data, but also the verification of the validity and reliability of the research materials.

The value of writing a Ph.D. dissertation depends on the validity and reliability of the report. At the moment I find myself in the dilemma of either jumping to a conclusion or to reviewing my findings by re-interview or renewed discussion with the relevant original persons concerned. There are also very many points to be properly or correctly documented, confirmed and refuted.

I cannot be precise about all these uncertain points at the moment - how many, where and to what extent - but I do know that they are present and one by one will eventually come up when I analyse, synthesise or draw conclusions in the draft thesis following the fieldwork research.

The documentation of some references sources may unfortunately have been overlooked or absent during the time of data collection / interviews / discussions but may have to be cited for the validity and for the reliability of facts and figures.

The same departments and offices therefore have to be revisited to seek further data to confirm or refute hypotheses and facts or figures for the ten leading research questions, and in particular for the data for the four phases of the Contingency approach (Requirements, Capacity, Feasibility and Implementation strategies).

At present, some of the government departments and offices have been or are going to be, revisited to confirm or refute opinions or statements concerning the ten basic research questions which are used as spearheads to collect data; as referred to in my first progress report. However, after the fieldwork programme, I felt that the bits and pieces of data collected would coheres, especially notion of the "environment uncertainty" in relation to the new government policy to extend compulsory education to 12 years. The ten basic research questions mentioned earlier were not sufficient to get the data required. Additional specific questions had to be sought.

The abstract variable of "environmental uncertainty", which is the significant factor shaping the four phase of the Contingency model, cannot be assessed and determined without proper and precise questions for tapping new data sources.

These new questions (twelve altogether) which may determine environmental uncertainty (suggested by Rondinelli et al., 1990) are as follows:

1. Has the top political leadership in the government and in the Ministry of Education changed frequently in recent years, and how long is the present leadership likely to remain in power?

2. Are there well established and reliable processes for political succession in the country?

3. How diversified is the national economy and to what degree do changes in economic conditions depend on international markets?

4. To what extent does financial support for education depend on national economic conditions?

5. How much financial and political support does the national government give to the education sector?

6. How strongly has the government supported educational changes or reforms in the past?

7. How many different constituency groups - government agencies - teachers' groups, professional associations, parents groups - can be expected to become involved in education reform policies and programmes?

8. Which groups and organisations within and outside of the government are likely to benefit directly or indirectly from the proposed educational changes?

9. Which groups and organisations are likely oppose the changes that will be promoted by the project?

10. How many different organisations, agencies, or institutions will be involved in implementing the project?

11. How many institutions will have to provide support directly and indirectly in order for the project to be implemented effectively?

12. At how many levels of administration will the project be implemented?

These will be used to analyse and to access the variable "Environmental uncertainty". This requires considerable thought and additional visits to old and new data sources. In addition, I found insufficient data to judge the strengths and weaknesses of the present set-up of primary education administration under three different national bodies, especially the "informal" structure of organisation and authority of the three implementing agencies.

The new sources of relevant data to be sought and collected, as recommended by Rondinelli et al. 1990, involve the following nine questions:

1. Do project tasks fall within the current mission and functions of the proposed implementing organisation, and if not, will the organisation require new authority, resources, skills or technology?

2. What is the formal division of labour for performing tasks among organisations and within the proposed implementing organisations?

3. Are current divisions of responsibility responsive to the needs of beneficiaries and managers who will be responsible for carrying out the projected tasks?

4. Do the proposed implementing organisations have performance records that indicate how effectively they are likely to manage the tasks included in the project? If so, how well have they performed similar tasks in the past? If not, how will the organisational structures be modified to take on new and unfamiliar responsibilities?

5. If the proposed tasks are new to the organisations, how much opposition or support within these organisations is likely to be generated, and how can potential conflicts be reduced and support increased?

6. Have the proposed implementing organisations been able to meet the needs and demands of intended beneficiaries by providing services of adequate quality and quantity?

7. If not, how will the structure of the organisations be changed to increase their responsiveness to the needs of clients and beneficiaries in the proposed project?

8. Have relationships between the proposed implementing organisations and their clientele been satisfactory enough to allow the participation of the intended beneficiaries in project planning and implementation?

9. Do beneficiaries view favourably the role of the organisations in the proposed project?

These questions will be employed for further analysis.

The time required to assess / analyse the data gained from revisiting the government departments concerned to get the answers from the new total of twenty-one questions to verify the validity and reliability of the data will be another three months (July, August and September 1997).

This means that I should be able to complete my fieldwork research and verification of data and to report to the University on or about the beginning of October 1997 to register for my fourth year when I will engage upon writing my findings.

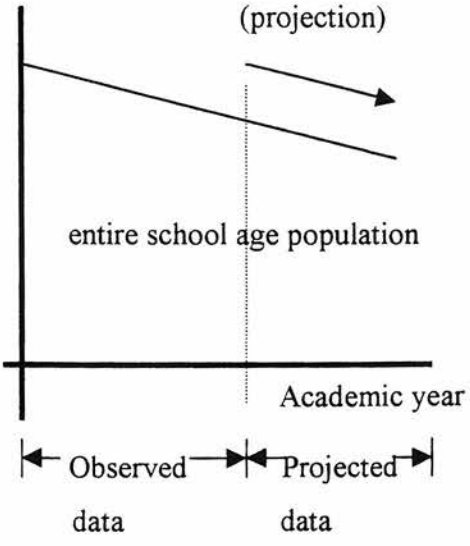
Appendix VII: Calculation method for places and finance for the 12-year basic educational provision: abstract to discrete value

The author sees that the determinants in providing 12-year basic schooling for all in Thailand concern two aspects: places and finance. This appendix is a brief description showing how the requirements, capacity and feasibility in terms of places and finances for the entire basic educational provision at every level have been calculated. The calculation method is presented in six steps as following:

In terms of places, firstly, it is necessary to determine the variables and information representing quantitative figures for the requirements and capacity of a twelve-year basic education provision.

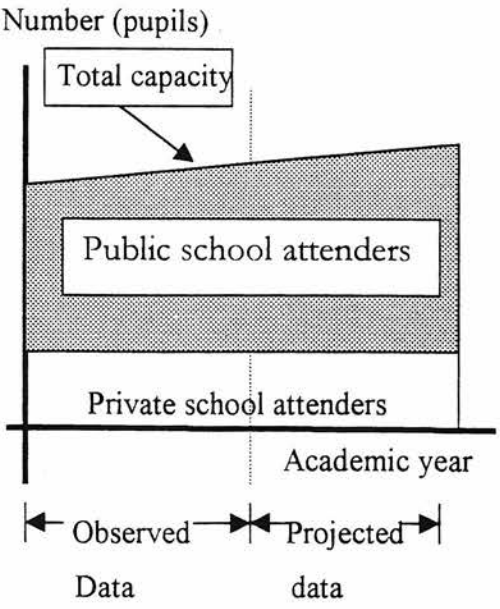
Step 1

Requirement in terms of places	1. In this study the variable representing the requirement for places in the twelve-year education plan is the number of children in the entire school age population, shown in the figure on the left. Since the basic education provision concerns educational requirement in the future academic years, the number given for the entire school age population is therefore projected from observed data to serve the purposes of this study.



Step 2

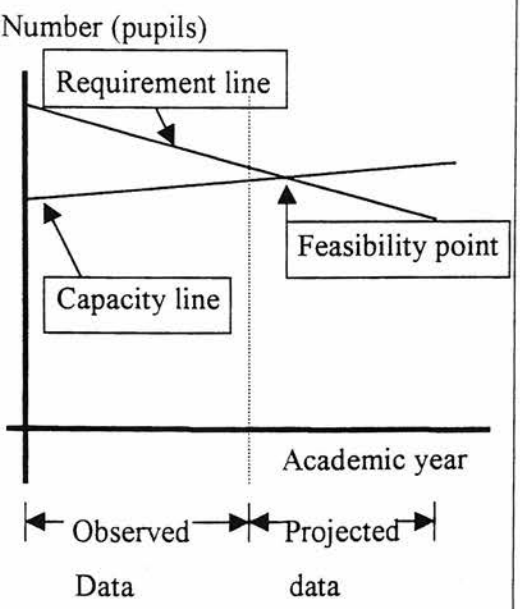
Capacity in terms of places



2. In this study the variable representing the capacity for providing places in twelve-year schooling is the total number of school attenders - public and private schoolchildren - including those who repeat their studies. The figures employed are projected from observed data to serve this purpose. In order to show the separate capacities of public and private schooling, the ratio of public to private school attenders is utilised and projected forward.

Step 3

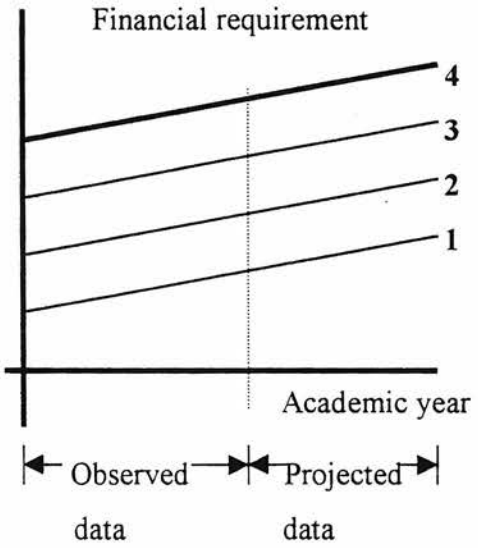
Feasibility in terms of places



3. Since feasibility of the twelve-year basic education in terms of places involves a comparison between the requirement and capacity, by presenting the two lines on a graph on the left a break-even point or feasibility of the educational provision is produced. The line representing requirement is that of the first diagram in this appendix while the line depicting capacity is that of the second diagram.

In terms of finance, it is necessary to determine the variables and information, represented by quantitative figures, of the financial requirements and capacity of a twelve-year basic education provision.

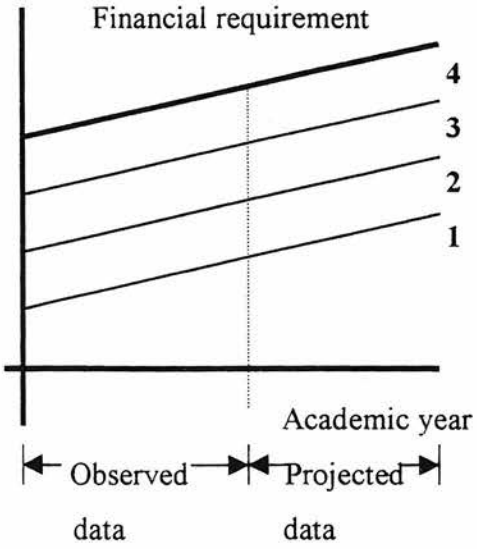
Step 4

Financial requirements Amounts (Pounds)  	**4.** In this thesis the variable representing the financial requirements for the twelve-year education plan is the total educational cost for the entire school age population. Since the cost varies depending upon educational level and also increases each year, it is necessary to calculate the cost of each level individually. (1 = primary, 2 = lower secondary, 3 = upper secondary, 4 = vocational study). The figure on the left represents the total educational financial requirement projected into future academic years.

Step 5

Financial capacity

Amounts (Pounds)

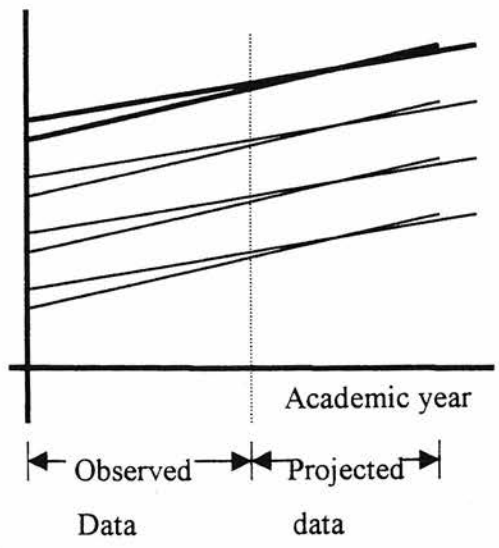


5. In this study the variable representing financial capacity for the twelve-year education provision is the total educational cost for the entire number of school attenders. Since the cost varies depending upon educational level and also increases each year, it is necessary to calculate the cost of each level individually. (1 = primary, 2 = lower secondary, 3 = upper secondary, 4 = vocational study). The diagram here shows the total educational financial capacity projected into the future academic years.

Step 6

Financial feasibility

Amount (pounds)



6. Since financial feasibility of the twelve-year basic education programme necessitates comparison between requirement and capacity, by presenting the requirement and capacity lines together on a graph on the left a break-even point or point of feasibility for the financing of educational provision at each level and as a whole can be projected and deduced at the juncture of each pair of lines.

It should be noted here that this six-step procedure, as illustrated above, shows that the capacity lines will meet the requirement lines, thus making the project feasible. However it does not mean that feasibility will necessarily occur in every case using this calculation; this depends significantly upon the actual figures of requirement and capacity.